Negotiating diasporic mobilities and becomings:
Interactions and practices of Europeans of Moroccan descent on holiday in Morocco

submitted to

University College London (UCL)

Geography

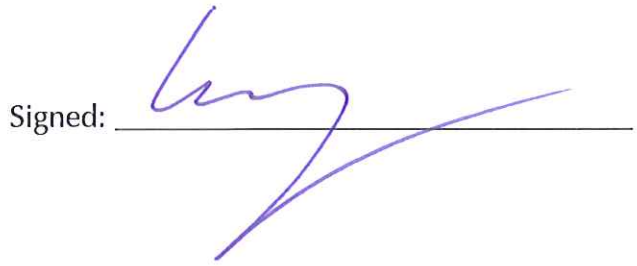
in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

by

Lauren Barnett Wagner

I, Lauren Barnett Wagner, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signed: 

Abstract

In recent years, the annual summer journey of Moroccan families from Europe towards 'home' has become a state-acknowledged event as their arrivals number in the millions. These holidays serve an important role in molding ideas and practices of 'Moroccanness' for post-migrant generation diasporic visitors, as it is during this time that those of Moroccan descent raised in Europe have the most exposure to Morocco in situ – to language, community and space as they are practiced within the territorial boundaries of the nation – instead of their habitually practiced ways of being Moroccan (or not-being Moroccan) elsewhere.

Using an approach based in linguistic anthropology alongside a geographical consideration of embodiment and mobilities, this thesis focuses on communicative and consumption practices of such individuals during their visits to Morocco. I traveled with participants, observing and recording interactions amongst diasporic visitors and community members resident in Morocco, and engaging with them in their practices of touristic leisure consumption. Thinking about ideas of 'Moroccanness' as a node in assemblage, unfixed yet specific, I demonstrate how their communicative and consumption practices shape an evolving sense of what it means to be 'Moroccan' for diasporic visitors. Their ideas of 'Moroccanness', which take shape both as rooted in diasporic connection and as touristic appreciation through consumption, resonate with the sense of 'being Moroccan' during their holidays and when they return 'home' to Europe. Yet, their diasporic orientation towards Morocco as a place of leisure consumption has ramifications on the relationship between future diasporic generations and the territory as 'homeland'.

My main theoretical contributions are: reimagining 'diasporic' in materialist terms, as an action instead of a state of being; and reimagining 'hybridity' as a set of interactions responding to multiple attractors in multiplicity, rather than an unstable condition of being neither one, nor the other.

Dedication

> Unlike experimental biologists, evolutionary biologists well versed in natural history already have an abundance of answers from which to pick and choose. What they most need are the right questions. The most important evolutionary biologists are those who invent the most important questions. They look for the best stories Nature has to tell us, because they are above all storytellers.
>
> E.O. Wilson, Naturalist

To my father, Douglas Paul Wagner (1945-2008), who taught me to wait for the right questions, and my grandfather, Arthur Leon Barnett (1914-2010) who taught me to appreciate the best storytellers.

Acknowledgements

My thanks first and foremost go to the three women whose key participation in this thesis made it possible. I am indebted to them, their families, and all the other participants who donated their time, opinions, images, and voices to this project. Additionally, I am indebted to the funding bodies who provided aid for this project at different stages, including the American Institute of Maghreb Studies, the Department of Geography at UCL, and the University of London Central Research Fund.

I would also like to thank my supervisors and advisors who brought me to this milestone. At UCL, this begins with Claire Dwyer for her unflinching support through many twists and turns, and Ben Page for stepping up when needed. In addition, I thank Christine Deprez and Keith Walters for their continued support even after I left their supervision, as well as Deborah Kapchan and Kamran Asdar Ali for guidance and advice. Thanks are due as well to one or two advisors who challenged me to complete this project by rejecting it.

Many readers, colleagues, and friends have left a mark on this thesis, both large and small. A partial list, in no particular order, includes: Joanna Long, James Esson, Hang Kei Ho, Emily Wilkinson, Crystal Fenwick, Valerie Viehoff, Cinzia Polese, Lia Shimada, Ben Lampert, JoAnn McGregor, Jenny Robinson, and particularly Jason Dittmer for his rapid turnaround. Special thanks to Mel Cianciotti, who kept the pressure on, and Amye Kenall who coached me through the rough parts.

For their enduring aide in translation, I want to express my indebtedness to Alexandrine Barontini, Christophe Pereira, and Abdelali Gala. Without their help, my transcripts would be woefully incomplete.

Finally, I would like to thank my soulmate Nora for being so excited, my mother Beth for unwavering support even when I would not tell her what I was up to, and my husband Karim for his perennial patience.

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Transcription conventions

Figure 1. Notation for recorded transcripts

xx	inaudible
?	intense rising intonation
,	slight rising intonation
.	intense falling intonation
/	slight falling intonation
:	Elongated vowel or geminated consonant
bold	emphasis
[	overlap
(), (1.2)	less than .2s pause, pause timed in seconds
.hhh / hhh	outbreath / inbreath
(( ))	explanatory or descriptive remark
<___>	uncertain transcription
normal	main (matrix) language of conversation
<u>underline</u>	secondary Moroccan language
italic	secondary European language
_____*	usage error

In data transcripts of recorded talk, Moroccan Arabic speech is transcribed in Roman letters follow ISO 233 conventions. The sole exception is the letter jīm, ج, which is transcribed as 'j' instead of 'g' in reflection of Moroccan pronunciation. /g/ is a separate phoneme in Moroccan Arabic, reflecting velarization of the Arabic letter qaf, ق, or alternately the phonemic influence of Amazigh languages. Other letters not common in English are listed in Figure 2 below:

Figure 2. Romanization of Arabic

Character	Arabic letter	IPA symbol
ṯ	ث	θ
j	ج	d͡ʒ
ḥ	ح	ħ
ḫ	خ	x
ḏ	ذ	ð
š	ش	ʃ
ṣ	ص	sˤ
ḍ	ض	dˤ
ṭ	ط	tˤ
ẓ	ظ	ðˤ
ʿ	ع	ʕ
ġ	غ	ɣ
ʾ	ء	ʔ
ə	(short vowel)	ə

The remaining consonants follow English pronunciation. Long vowels and dipthongs have been simplified and standardized for ease of reading.

Arabic words appearing in the text have been transcribed as they are most commonly written in Morocco.

1. Introduction

Image 1. Thomas Mailaender, Cathedral Cars, 2004[1]

> *C'est déjà les grandes vacances. Cet après-midi, j'ai vu la famille Ali embarquer pour le Maroc. Ils ont une grande camionnette rouge et tous les ans, ils traversent la France et l'Espagne pour rejoindre le bled et y passer deux mois. Je les regardais depuis ma fenêtre. Ils ont mis au moins une heure à tout préparer. Les enfants étaient bien habillés. On lisait sur leur gueule la joie et l'excitation de partir. Je les enviais. En tout cas, il ont emmené une tonne de*

1. http://www.thomasmailaender.com/cathedrals-cars/

bagages. Les trois quarts des sacs devaient être remplies de cadeaux pour la famille, les amis et les voisins. C'est toujours comme ça que ça se passe. La mère Ali a même emporté un aspirateur. Un Rowenta dernier modèle. Elle va en jeter avec ça là-bas.

En plus, ils vont voir leur baraque terminée. À mon avis, s'ils se sont fait construire une maison au bled en bouffant du riz et des pâtes à tous les repas pour envoyer des sous aux maçons et si la mère embarque un aspirateur avec elle c'est qu'ils ont l'intention de s'y installer. Les enfants, ça a pas dû leur effleurer l'esprit. Mais les parents, eux, ils doivent y penser depuis le premier jour où ils ont fait l'erreur de foutre les pieds dans ce putain de pays qu'ils croyaient devenir le leur.

Certains espèrent toute leur vie retourner au pays. Mais beaucoup n'y reviennent qu'une fois dans le cercuiel, expédiés par avion comme de la marchandise exportée. Évidemment, ils retrouvent leur terre, mais c'est sûrement pas au sens propre qu'ils voyaient la chose...(Guene 2004, 105-106)[2]

1.1. The transnational vacation

This is a story of an annual holiday. It is not my story but one that I am borrowing from others: persons born and/or raised in France, Belgium and the Netherlands, of two Moroccan parents, who choose to continue visiting Morocco as adults. I am telling this story in order to investigate how this holiday is an important aspect to understanding what it means to be Moroccan in Europe.

Alongside traditional research discussions on integration, economic status, and systematic ethnic or religious discrimination concerning this migrant population, the holiday magnifies or reframes aspects of belonging that become pertinent in those discussions. The holiday is a site where the approximately one million post-migrant generation[3] European-Moroccans who return each summer,

2. It's already time for the holiday. This afternoon, I saw the Alis leave for Morocco. They have a huge red van and every year they drive through France and Spain to return to the bled and spend two months there. I watched them from my window. They took at least an hour to get ready. The kids were all dressed up. You could read on their faces the happiness and excitement to leave. I envied them. In any case, they brought a ton of luggage. Three-quarters of the bags must have been full of presents for the family, friends and neighbors. It always happens like that. The mother even brought a vacuum cleaner. Latest model Rowenta. She'll go nuts with it there.
What's more, they'll find their shack finished. I bet, if they've built a house in the bled by eating rice and pasta every meal so they can send money to the builders and if the mother leaves with a vacuum cleaner it's because they want to stay there. The kids, that can't have lifted their spirits. But the parents, they must have been thinking of it since the first day they made the mistake of setting foot in this fucking country they thought would become theirs.
Some people wish all their lives to go home. But plenty don't go except once, sent by plane like exported merchandise. Well, they made it home, but not in the way they thought it would be...

3. I prefer the term 'post-migrant' over 'second' generation following Fouron and Glick-Schiller's (2002) observation that 'second' generation implies that the individuals in question are still in a process of migrating. Post-migrant generation(s), in contrast, refers to the rupture of migration as an event, and the contexts it creates in aftermath. The estimate of one million post-migrant generation diasporic visitors is calculated based on population estimates of Moroccans residing

hereafter referred to as diasporic visitors (DVs), can feel ethnically linked to everyone around them, practice their Moroccan languages, interact with extended family, experience the sense of public space in a Muslim country, and occasionally meet their spouses and get married. In short, it is as much a site of milestone experiences in their lives as their European homes, and as much a site of contested belonging. In order to introduce how this holiday fits into an imagination of what it means to be Moroccan in this part of Europe, I present here some examples of artistic and popular culture where the holiday is isolated as a key moment in European Moroccan lives.

The first two, presented as the illustration and epigraph heading this chapter, describe the iconic moment of embarkation. The photograph by Thomas Mailaender is one of a series he produced, *Les voitures cathédrales* – borrowing the term 'cathedral cars' from dockworkers at Marseilles – depicting overflowing vehicles frozen with their gravity-defying baggage in transit towards North Africa. These images, as materializations of the '*voitures surchargées*' (overloaded cars) that have come to represent North African migrants moving through a European landscape, have been purchased as part of the collection of the new Museum of Migration in Paris.

Next, in a passage from *Kiffe kiffe demain*, Faïza Guène describes the view from the window watching a neighboring family leave on holiday in the voice of an impoverished French Moroccan teenager. Part of her despondence at their departure comes from the absent presence of her father, who left for the *bled* – from the Arabic word for 'land', 'countryside' or 'homeland' – abandoning herself and her mother to marry another woman and produce a son. Amid the myriad hypocrisies and frustrations of her state-monitored life, taking place in a predominantly migrant-occupied periurban state housing complex, she and her mother are economically unable to travel. Instead, she witnesses other families piling luggage onto their cars, excited to go.

Both of these examples encapsulate the first part of this story: the palpable presence of the holiday and the place it promises from a distance, in Europe. In discussions with diasporic visitors and their families and in much public discourse,

in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands (Fondation Hassan II and IOM, 2003) along with tabulations by the Moroccan Office of Tourism of summer entries of Moroccan Nationals Resident Abroad (accessed 26 Oct 2010).

these iconic, nostalgic, reverential imaginings of returning to the homeland are reinforced through repetition. Without a doubt, the ritual of the holiday plays a role in establishing an affective link between Moroccans living in diaspora across multiple generations and locations, either by taking part in the holiday themselves or by witnessing the departures and returns of their families, friends and neighbors.

The second part of the story is concerned with another aspect of this affective contradiction. As much as the homeland is depicted as a place to reunite with one's truer self, for some going there on holiday gives meaning to the phrase '*ni d'ici ni de là-bas*' (neither from here nor there), as plaintively described below:

1.1.a. Translated excerpt from 'Entre deux' by Sniper (2003)

Tunisiano mon blaze	*Tunisiano my handle*
j'ai pour pays d'origine	*I have for country of origin*
la France là ou je crèche	*France, there where I was coddled*
où on me reproche mes origines	*where they reproach my origins*
j'ai grandi loin de mon pays	*I grew up far from my country*
et on me l'a trop souvent reproché	*and they have too often reproached me*
on a trop souvent prétendu	*they have too often pretended*
que je les avais trahis, hé ma couille	*that I betrayed them, hey my ass*
ici c'est pas l'bled	*here is not the homeland*
où ça pue l'embrouille	*where it stinks of intrigue*
et en scred	*and secrets*
même là-bas j'suis dans la merde	*even there I'm in shit*
c'est comme chaque été	*it's like every summer*
dès que tu me vois tu dis škun	*when you see me you say* who
regards froids sifflotement	*cold looks shivers*
v'là l'étranger dans le saloon	*there's the stranger in the salon*
monsieur Tounsi	*Mr Tunisian*
smaʿt mānīš jīʿān	you understand I'm not hungry
u tāk əlḥatta u šbaʿt	and you're eating till you're full
b əlʿīn mtāʿ jīrān	with the eyes of the neighbors
ici un danger	*here a danger*
là-bas j'suis un intru	*there I'm an intruder*
et là ou j'aimerai m'ranger	*and there where I'd like to put myself*
j'suis vu comme un étranger	*I'm seen as a stranger*
donc j'suis perdu	*so I'm lost*
et en plus j'suis pas le bienvenu	*and more I'm not welcome*
où on se méfie des barbus	*where they are afraid of beards*
d'Oussama à Robert Hue	*from Osama to Robert Hue*
toi aussi t'es dans mon cas?	*you too you're like me?*
un blème de pedigree	*a fault of pedigree*
j'ai du mal à m'intégrer	*I can't integrate myself*
que se soit ici ou là-bas	*neither here nor over there*

This bilingual French-Arabic rap was written and performed by Bachir Baccour, a.k.a. Tunisiano, a French citizen of Tunisian origin, along with the rest of the migrant-origin group Sniper. The lyrics evoke many of the themes of dislocation and instability that surface for post-migrant generation individuals visiting their ancestral homeland. This first verse establishes some of the ways in which negative frameworks of belonging are practiced: the protagonist is questioned by the French, reproached by Tunisians, and feels himself unable to integrate in either place. The

remainder of the song elaborates on these themes with one verse in Tunisian Arabic and another in French, finally identifying all like migrants groups in France – Tunisian, Algerian, Moroccan, and others – who share in this affect of dislocation[4].

These citations of the holidays illustrate two points. First, the fact of visiting the diasporic home is not a simple 'return to origins'; it involves negotiations that refract on senses of belonging in both the diasporic home and the country of residence. The holidays are imbued with a sense of attachment to the diasporic home, in this case Morocco, and a troubling of that attachment through the sense of being rejected by those living there. Second, these artifacts connote how negotiations of belonging take place along visually perceived dimensions, like practices of consumption and embodiment, that interlace and interact with other dimensions, like communicative practices. Guène's narrator watches her neighbors overload the car with merchandise that is part of the capital they display at 'home', while living in poverty in France. Tunisiano is recognized as a 'stranger' and 'intruder' by his neighbors, eyeing him suspiciously each summer when he arrives. In both cases, the migrants are immediately recognized and categorized through their actions – by loading up with material goods or by appearing at the same moment each summer. As Tunisiano expresses, in both Arabic and French, they call him Arab and they call him foreigner; an 'intruder of the same skin color'. He is recognized as Arab by his skin and perhaps by his linguistic abilities, but recognized as foreign by his actions and accent.

This dynamic of familiar bodies that become strange intruders is explored in this thesis. As with any border crossing – whether a territorial border or otherwise – there is a negotiation of belonging in place that engages a multiplicity of practical resources to achieve instrumental and abstract goals in interaction. While the pertinent bodies here are made up of physical elements assumed to be Moroccan, as genetic descendants of 'Moroccanness', their bodies become habituated and practiced in variation from that assumed linear trajectory as a direct result of migration. I approach the question of how these bodies are practiced to belong or not belong in Morocco by investigating how communicative and leisure consumption encounters shape ideas of 'Moroccanness' for post-migrant generation individuals of Moroccan origin from France, Belgium, and the Netherlands during

4. See Appendix 1 for the original and translated lyrics.

their summer holidays. Through focusing on practiced attempts to belong, in conjunction with and opposition to discourses of identity, I address the problem of belonging neither to one place nor the other as an emergent activity rather than a perpetual state of being. I see the problematic of hybridity as a continually reoccurring dynamic of negotiating diverging trajectories of 'Moroccanness', exacerbated and reconciled every day in interaction.

One of the contributions I make to geographic research is through this focus on emergent practice as central to belonging in place. Stemming from my previous work on linguistic practice in tourism contexts in Morocco (Wagner 2004) and on linguistic categorization of diasporic visitors in marketplace interaction (Wagner 2006), my approach towards ethnographic data is rooted in sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological understandings of interaction. In this domain, interlocutor participants are understood to constantly contribute to, read, interpret, and reshape forms and flows of interaction by drawing on multifarious references and exploiting equally diverse resources. I analyze empirical and recorded data that are ephemeral and momentary, but from their agglomeration emerge patterns and relationships with other interactions and other moments. This approach, in line with recent theoretical turns in geography, favors discovering the way 'identities' work through how they are collectively enacted in everyday contexts.

To sociolinguistic research, I contribute an analysis of linguistic production of migrant bilinguals that targets their emplacement and embodiment along with their linguistic production of a heritage language. A significant body of research in this area has addressed how heritage language communicative skills are acquired and reproduced, and what speakers are able to creatively accomplish with their linguistic resources in multilingual contexts. In this project, I analyze interactions where mobilities force speakers to engage other communicative resources in situations that overextend their heritage language linguistic competences. As members of a community inculcated with diasporic communicative practices in a diasporic locale, participants displaced to the 'homeland' are trying to be competent speakers in an only semi-familiar environment. Their attempts to become competent speakers are confounded by their visible embodiment, that is often very clearly read by interlocutors as coming from elsewhere. This analysis embodied and emplaced in the country of origin provides a corollary viewpoint to

the plentiful research on how migrant bilinguals use their linguistic practices to create and delimit their communities in places of residence.

Thus, the content of this project is an ethnography of the holiday, addressing how post-migrant generation diasporic visitors negotiate this double sense of attachment and distance through their practices of travel and leisure consumption and their linguistic and embodied communicative practices while in Morocco . Specifically, the ethnographic data reflect their simultaneous attachment to and distance from that place as a homeland. To set the stage for the ethnographic data, I present in Chapter 2 relevant historical and linguistic contexts related to European presences in Morocco and Moroccan presences in Europe. Next, I argue in Chapter 3 the theoretical bases for my analysis, beginning from theories of nation and diaspora and moving towards assemblage and practice. Following that, I present the methodological frameworks for this research, based primarily in sociolinguistic and ethnomethodological lineages alongside ethnography in Chapter 4.

The three empirical chapters follow a trajectory of movement towards Morocco, then an effort to integrate into Morocco, and finally forms of community DVs practice in Morocco while on holiday. The first, Chapter 5, discusses practices that lead to diasporic visitation, how that visitation emerges in positive, attracting forms of attachment as well as negative, repelling forms through a metaphor of *attachment* as linked to diasporic ebb and flow. The second, Chapter 6, considers how DVs are becoming 'Moroccan' bodies, successfully and unsuccessfully, as they attempt to be audibly and visually perceived as Moroccan by resident Moroccans while there. The central theme of this chapter is a dynamic of *passing*, as pursued and practiced by participants trying to become somehow 'Moroccan'. The final empirical piece, Chapter 7, reviews their daily practices of consumption, as individuals engaging in leisure practices suitable to being on vacation while also being at 'home.' This chapter is constructed around an idea of *insha'allah* as a guiding metaphor for the expected unpredictability of DV playscapes in Morocco. Finally, I offer some conclusions addressing the contribution this project makes to theoretical approaches to migration, sites of migrant multilingual practices, and ethnographies of embodied consumption.

2. Background contexts

2.1. Introduction

As in most circumstances of international migration, the arrival of substantial populations of Moroccan migrants in Europe was presaged by intersecting histories. In order to contextualize the existence and practice of Moroccan families traveling to Morocco on summer holiday, it is first necessary to take a broader historical and contemporary view of mobilities between Morocco and Europe. This discussion begins in section 2.2 with a history of European involvement in Morocco, then continues to the aftermath of that involvement, through the emergence of Morocco as an evolving postcolonial state and its expanding international interests and links. The discussion then moves to a brief overview of the sociolinguistic landscape of Morocco in section 2.3, to establish the variety of languages in practice there and their relative social significances. All of these dimensions connect through ideologies of nationality and belonging: through how nation-states become actors in the lives of migrants and how embodied practices, like language, become part of being embedded in or out of place in international mobilities.

2.2. Historical and contemporary mobilities between Morocco and Europe

2.2.1. Europe in Morocco

Morocco's history as a nation extends for centuries as the western edge of the Islamic world, the southern edge of the Christian world, and beyond the reach of many occupying powers. Colonization by Moroccans in Europe in fact predates colonizations by Europeans in Morocco, as a succession of Islamic rulers in the eighth and twelfth centuries (Cohen and Hahn 1966). As such, in the age of colonization Morocco was not part of any empire but existed as an independently sovereign state – one that was seen by European powers as a place in need of organized reform and 'protection' (ibid, 15). At the beginning of the twentieth century, Britain and France disputed trading rights with Morocco, and Spain continuously attacked the northern borders, while neighboring Algeria had been under French rule for 70 years (Pennell 2000).

Morocco's entrance into and emergence from its colonial presence is bound inextricably with its close relationship with Algeria[5]. Following a sympathetic gesture by the Moroccan sultan towards Algerian rebels, the French 'Protectorate' was officially installed in Morocco in 1912 under Résident-Général Lyautey, who was responsible for the architecture and planning of much urban expansion. Following his designs, the old cities were retained and new cities (often called literally *ville nouvelle*) built next to them, enabling preservation of older buildings as traditional homes and as tourist attractions. This design also maintained a spatial distinction between the indigenous population and the colonial one, both practically and symbolically dividing them.

French rule in Morocco was relatively benign in comparison to some other regimes of that era, yet they did encourage divisive policies that created disadvantages for Moroccans in favor of the *colons*. Lyautey's foundations of government were not as heavy-handed as some of his predecessors in Algeria. He preferred to control inconspicuously rather than publicly dethrone Moroccan figures of authority. After troubled experiences in Algeria, the purpose of French presence was no longer to form an extension of French citizenry, but rather to institute forms of government onto the existing landscape to enable economic growth in French interests. In fact, the Protectorate had difficulty gaining control over significant parts of the country, and certain areas remained 'unconquered' for a full twenty years.

The map of Morocco was divided. Because of Spanish interests and threats from the north, a section was carved out between the coast and the Rif mountains and in the 'Western Sahara' as the Spanish Protectorate, which was to some extent still under French regulation. Traces of Spanish influence in language and practices persist in these areas, in contrast to the majority of Morocco where French influences maintain strength. The French part retains to some extent the ideology of colonial division into the *bled el-makhzen*, land of the government (literally the land of the coffer) and *bled es-siba*, land of resistance (see Figure 3). These divisions generally overlap with the demarcation between Arab and Amazigh (commonly

5. See Pennell (2003) for an extensive discussion of Moroccan connection to Algeria; see Barbour (1965) and Cohen and Hahn (1966) for accounts of the Moroccan state immediately post-independence.

known as Berber), a legacy of colonialism that remains powerfully relevant in current politics.

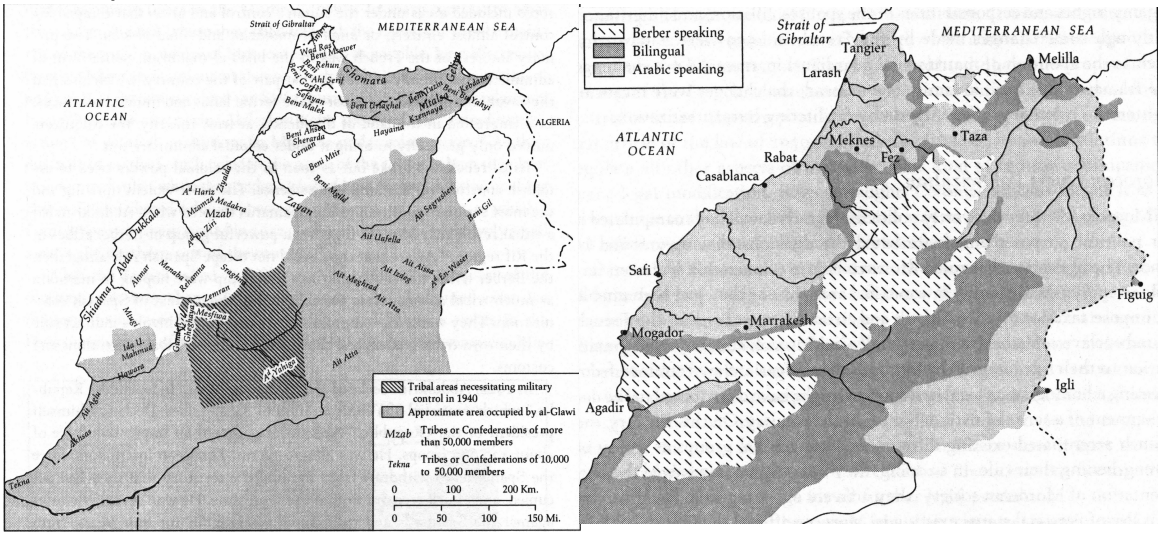


Figure 3. Maps of conquered areas and of linguistic diversity in Morocco (Charrad 2001, 128; 140)

The present day distinctions between Arab and Amazigh rest delicately on ideologies of origins and difference. Following the arrival of Arab Islamic raiders in this region around 680 AD, many Amazigh groups supposedly converted to Islam from Judaism or Christianity, but the extent of their conversion is contested (Barbour 1965, 42). The massive arrival in 920 AD of Beni Hilal families from Yemen led to intermarriage and significant mixture between the groups, so much so that arguably today there are no 'pure' members of either (Cohen and Hahn 1966, 10). However, the French colonial government in Algeria famously espoused a myth of origins built on perceptions of Amazigh groups as having descended from Christians, being more settled agriculturalists as opposed to Arab 'nomads' and having lighter skin tone, which therefore made them more amenable to conversion in a French model of life (Pennell 2000, 164-166). After independence, these divisive tactics resurfaced in the struggle for government control, resulting in significant Kabyle (an Amazigh group of Algeria) emigration to France and the emergence of a strong Kabyle identity movement there (Belaidi 2003; Silverstein 2004a).

The Moroccan experience of this division was not quite as pronounced, but ran in tandem with Algeria. Following the example of Algeria, (Pennell 2000, 159), successive protectorate governments, both French and Spanish, attempted to

Christianize Berber populations and integrate them into Western power structures. Amazigh zones, particularly the Rif mountains in the North, were notoriously problematic for the protectorates to control. Most revolutionary movements emerged from these areas, which are still imbued with the ideology of resistance and rebellion in comparison to other regions.

Post-independence, predominantly during the reign of the second king Hassan II, regions that are primarily populated by Imazighen[6] were again sources of civil unrest that resulted in government suppression (Dalle 2004). Since the current king, Mohammed VI, took power in 1999, there have been significant changes in governance generally, towards a more democratic stance (Howe 2005). Attitudes towards Amazigh identity have been considerably opened, culminating with the creation of the *Institut Royale de la Culture Amazighe* (IRCAM) for the promotion of Amazigh language and culture. The Amazigh movement in Morocco, like that of Algeria, has been helped by the presence of plentiful active populations who took advantage of political freedom outside of state borders.

2.2.2. From independence to migration

Moroccan independence in 1956 was bound to the simultaneous struggle in Algeria. French colonial authorities concentrated their military efforts on the latter, which had had longer and more pervasive French presence. The movement towards independence was lead in part by the king the French themselves had selected, Mohammed V, who was a younger son in the royal family and not originally intended to rule. He was, however, a direct continuation of the royal bloodline that predated French control:

> Indeed, Morocco is virtually unique in the Arab world in that its struggle for independence revolved around the capture, revival, and renovation of a monarchy that had appeared rather ineffective and dissolute prior to colonial rule. The population revered Muhammed V for his *baraka*, or mystical religious qualities. In addition, the diverse forces of contemporary nationalism looked to him to satisfy their demands for a national government. The king was thus the one leader whose right to rule rested on sufficiently diverse grounds to satisfy virtually all sectors of Moroccan opinion. (White *et al*. 2002, 394-395)

As a result, independent Morocco was not caught in the immediate struggle for power seen in other newly post-colonial nations. Instead of complete rebuilding, the Moroccan government was reformed within the existing French structures under

6. plural of Amazigh people

relatively peaceful conditions. The parliamentary monarchy continues to exist, and the King is still seen as a national leader who is also a religious focus, blessed with *baraka* as a descendent of the Prophet, that makes his word holy.

Migration has been a nearly constant dynamic throughout this process, from before the Protectorate and beyond Independence. Throughout the twentieth century, traditional circular internal migration routes had begun to extend into other newly accessible parts of colonial France, including towards Algeria and to metropolitan France itself (de Haas 2007). However the significant movement of Moroccan populations into Europe did not begin until after independence, in the context of bilateral labour migration contracts. Despite auspicious beginnings after the Protectorate, Morocco did not avoid the economic difficulties that impacted most post-colonial states. Like many others, leaders looked to 'maximis[e] emigration in order to manage unemployment levels, acquire hard currency through remittances, and raise skill levels through returning migrants' (Baldwin-Edwards 2005, 4).

Beginning with Germany in May 1963, the sanctioned and encouraged out-migration extended to France, Belgium and the Netherlands over the next decade (Collyer 2004, 16), finally ceasing officially in 1974. In 1965 there were about 30,000 Moroccans living in Europe; by 1975 the number had increased to an estimated 400,000 (de Haas 2007, 46). Moroccan links with France had already been developed similarly to the migration patterns of Tunisia, Algeria and Senegal, fellow states in formerly French North Africa, who were granted favorable considerations for employment and education opportunities post-independence. As a result of these contracts with other European states their post-colonial trajectories divided: a large number of migrating Moroccans chose France as a destination country, but equal numbers of this wave went elsewhere.

During this period of economic and political crisis in Morocco, massive recruitment plus equally strong irregular migration meant that in some areas migrant remittances became a principal form of income (de Haas 2005b). As recruitment of workers by companies abroad had been regionally focused, directed by governing authorities specifically towards Amazigh populations to help dissemble potential political unrest (de Haas 2005a, 14), there are in some places

narrow associations between the sending town and the destination town. The Rif mountains, for example, have a much higher proportion of migrants who left for Belgium or the Netherlands than the Souss area around Agadir and the Anti-Atlas mountains, where France is more prominent.

Throughout the recruitment period, this migration was characterized as temporary by all of the states involved. In 1973-74, when this legitimate means of migration was discontinued due to shifting economic trends in the destination countries, the lockdown on movement had the effect of making the trajectory permanent (de Haas 2006, 46-47). Instead of risking returning to unemployed to Morocco without possibility of reversal, efforts at family reunification began that solidified the presence of Moroccan communities in Europe. This transition from guestworker to economic migrant prompted new forms of interaction between King Hassan II and his subjects now permanently residing abroad.

The Moroccan state did not actively engage the migrant population as investors immediately, but were quick to develop financial systems for the flow of remittances. Until 1990s, migrants were viewed by the Moroccan government as an external population that would return, and, under Hassan II, associations were set up in Europe to monitor and influence their political adherence. Mohammed VI has put in place much broader outreach, in terms of welcoming projects and aid to travelers, investment encouragement by changing regulations to be more favorable towards Moroccans abroad, and built new bureaucratic outposts in the EU (Brand 2002; 2006). An intended effect in these projects is to create more facilities for incorporating financial and human capital of migrants into the national economy (Bekouchi 2003; Sorenson 2004). Though remittances are anticipated to fall off as migration slows and generations of Moroccan origin become integrated into other homes (Leichtman 2002), they are nevertheless a major calculation in foreign aid received in Morocco (de Haas and Plug 2006).

Moroccans continue to migrate, both legally and illegally, into Europe through shifting channels of entry. Migration through Morocco as a gateway from Africa – of Moroccan nationals as well as other African nationals – has become a major concern in policing EU borders (Alscher 2005; Belguendouz 2002). Because of their accessibility by water, more recent waves of primarily illegal Moroccan migrants have arrived in Spain and Italy. Historically, these states have not had

official links to Morocco for that purpose, but nevertheless they have significant Moroccan populations within their borders, often in service and agricultural industries (Driessen 1998; Bodega *et al*. 1995). Moroccan migration has become a strongly contested political issue, in parallel with other nations like Turkey and Mexico whose migratory tendencies are labeled and construed as illicit (de Haas and Vezzoli 2010).

Legal migration from Morocco to Europe is still possible, primarily for those with social networks in an EU country, who can arrange marriages or family sponsorships. Yet even those channels have become increasingly difficult, as EU states make parameters of allowable entry for family members more stringent. For example, in 2004 the Netherlands added a linguistic proficiency test before a family member can be regrouped. Dutch language education is now required before migration instead of after arrival, creating another barrier for potential migrants. These flows and blockages of migratory movement contribute to the affective and discursive environment of negativity towards Moroccan communities in Europe, who struggle to achieve political and social stability as rightful residents in these states.

2.2.3. Morocco in Europe

Some characteristics of Moroccan communities in Europe are general across the different states where they have settled. They are generally counted among stigmatized minority migrant groups, and are commonly subjects of negative effects of that stigmatization, including racialized and ethnicized discrimination (see Lesthaeghe 2000, Manço 1999, Manço 1995, and Ouali 2004 in relation to Belgium; Césari 2003, Guénif Souilamas 2000, Lepoutre 1997, Lacoste-Dujardin 1992, Tribalat 1995 and 1996 in relation to France; and Bos and Fritschy, 2006 in relation to the Netherlands). As post-migrant generation Moroccans are generally among the lower income residents in these places, their socialization into place is not unlike that of other 'working class' groups (Willis 1977). Place-based or locality-based identifiers are often core attributes for post-migrant generation members of the community (Césari *et al*. 2001; Melliani and Laroussi 1998). In fact, as many families were settled in state-funded housing, geographic ghettoization has encouraged the exaggeration of difference between the tightly bordered Moroccan

community (or collectively oppressed migrant community) and outsiders to it (Silverstein 2004b; Lepoutre 1997). Religious difference also plays an increasingly important role in the insulation of the predominantly Muslim community (Bistolfi and Zabbal 1995; Césari 1994; Maréchal *et al*. 2003; Sayyid 2000) from the predominantly Christian hegemony that crosses national borders in Europe.

Some differences in Moroccan communities from state to state are due to particular structures of governance and political activity in each place. For example, the majority of individuals identifying as 'Moroccan' can also claim Moroccan citizenship, which is passed genealogically, regardless of place of birth. Yet because of variation in systems of nationality and citizenship in different European states, which change depending on both the state and the political orientation of the moment, there is no uniform model of official national identity for post-migrant generation Moroccans. Some obtained citizenship in the European state at birth, some at age of majority and some not at all, depending on their parents' status, their year of birth and the state into which they were born. This lack of uniformity creates enormous difficulty in making an accurate estimate of the size of the Moroccan population in different states, especially in efforts to sort members by generation (Fondation Hassan II and IOM 2003; Simon 1999; Héran *et al*. 2002; Tribalat 1995).

Another significant difference is in the emergence of debates on religious participation and in national ideologies of the role of religion in public life. Islam in France has received attention in public debate in a much different context than in the Netherlands or Belgium (see chapters in Bistolfi and Zabbal 1995, Césari and McLoughlin 2005, and Modood *et al*. 2006 for detailed discussions by country). The mixture of migrant groups in each nation-state is relevant to this dynamic. Whereas Islamic religious subjectivities in France became more prominent in a context of post-colonialism and violent involvement with Algeria, their onset in Belgium and the Netherlands is linked with the growth of the Turkish Muslim community alongside the Moroccan one. Adherence to Islam has taken on a different character in each national public debate, depending on attitudes towards and ideologies of the role of religion in the public sphere and shifting with notable events (for example, political and legal public debate on headscarves in France and

more recently Belgium, and the murder of Theo van Gogh in the Netherlands) that challenge existing systems.

In terms of the pattern of migration and settlement of Moroccans into these three nation-states, Belgium and the Netherlands can be grouped to some extent in a separate model to that of France. France has famously adopted a republican model that effaces any legal reference to ethnicity amongst its citizenry. Yet, equally famously, ethnic distinctions are a source of discrimination and dissent, as not all groups assimilate easily into the French model of citizenship (Noiriel 1988; Tribalat 1996). Additionally, historical links between Morocco and France create an atmosphere distinct from the relationship between Morocco and Belgium or the Netherlands. Moroccan communities in significant numbers have existed nearly twice as long in France than elsewhere, and Moroccan histories are embedded in the metropole through aftereffects of colonization. Furthermore, the broader North African community of Algerian and Tunisian migrants create a *maghrebi* (North African) basis for belonging, that includes shared elements like similar linguistic, familial and religious practices as well as histories of colonization and independence. In fact, French research often groups the three nationalities together (Bekkar *et al*. 1999; Lacoste-Dujardin 1992), treating them as one *maghrebi* community.

In Belgium and the Netherlands, the parallel flows of migration are with populations who are comparable in other ways. Most notable are Turkish communities and their shared religious affiliations with Moroccans, but each group maintains its specificity. Moroccan communities in Belgium and the Netherlands are also linked by the Dutch language, as the majority of Belgian-Moroccans are from Flemish areas, and are often consumers of media flows from the Netherlands. Moroccans in both of these nation-states tend to come from the north of Morocco, therefore often sharing a regional referent as well. Additionally, the Netherlands and Belgium pursued policies that enabled migrant communities to maintain insulated cultural practices (e.g. Bos and Fritschy 2006; Ouali 2004) without ostensibly requiring assimilation or conformity to a national model of public identity. Moroccans, like other migrant groups, are counted and monitored in terms

of their educational achievement, and their perceived assimilation, integration, or isolation from broader national ideologies.

Each of these national patterns has had effects that are distinct at an individual level, but has also created some similar patterns of diasporic Moroccan 'identity'. In all three cases, national origin is felt as a stigmatized attribute; in all of them Islamic religious practice created rifts between the Moroccan community and the dominant national community. The different models of assimilation and/or integration have achieved equally mixed results.

One factor that cuts across these nation-state distinctions is the existence of Amazigh nationalism. The links between Moroccan and Algerian communities in France are a key element to this, as Kabyle activism emerged with particular force in France as a safe haven in the wake of movements for Arabization in Algeria (Chaker 1998). As Kabyle nationalism became more prominent, a parallel movement of Moroccan Amazigh activism gained strength, but not necessarily as a 'transnational' movement. The dispersion of Moroccan Amazigh populations of different regional origins into migratory flows towards different nation-states make an international mass of the 'Amazigh nation' less likely. Yet smaller, region-specific groups, encouraged by connectivity through online forums, have developed into a vocal movement. The support recently gained for Amazigh languages and cultures in Morocco adds momentum to these organizations, which are often concerned with the maintenance of language and cultural practice in diaspora (Rachik 2006).

In summary, a number of intersecting elements become evident in the history of connections between Morocco and Europe. First is the impact of colonization, which has created enduring links between France and Morocco in language and cultural practices as well as through the legacy of ideologies of governance. Second is the history of migration flows, often concentrated from certain regions in Morocco to certain nation-states in Europe. Communities have developed along trajectories that intertwine the place of origin with elements of the European place so that there is not necessarily one, unified 'Moroccan Diaspora' but many 'diasporic Moroccans', from communities that consider Morocco to be a homeland. Distinctions between these communities are influenced by both the region and ethnicity (Arab or Amazigh) of origin as well as the diversity of the

European space of home, whether in France, Belgium or the Netherlands. Third is the recognition that, despite the multiple possible trajectories, a 'national' origin can exert influence on diasporic communities in other ways besides the representation of the nation-state. That is, as much as these individuals might identify as Moroccans, they also can engage with belongings in Arab or Amazigh groups, and the many regional designations that go with them. In short, although this research is seemingly concerned with Moroccan nationals, other identities within that construct besides that of the 'nation' play an essential role.

2.3. Sociolinguistic landscapes of national and diasporic Morocco

More so than many other attributes, language and linguistic practice are forms of embodiment that become attached to geographical locations, through ideologies of place and of national unity exemplified by interpersonal communication and traditions of arts and literature. The ability to access multiple codes, exemplified by participants in this study, can be challenging to nation-state constructions of a monolithic, unilingual, uniliterate population. In this sense, a sociolinguistic landscape is connected to, but can exceed a physical one. To address configurations of power and access in relation to relevant linguistic codes and forms, this section outlines an approach to multilingual competency and the languages and codes present in the national and diasporic space of Morocco.

2.3.1. Political economies of multilingualism in Morocco

Bi- or multilingualism, whether within a single national context (Heller 2003) or in a migration context (Deprez 1994; Urciuoli 1996; Zentella 1997) is often implicated in differential power relations between groups. Multilinguistic interaction opens a portal on ideologies of language tied to nation-state formations through situated political economies of language (Irvine 1989). Gal (1987) remarks that the history of power relations between groups resident in the same place, where one is considered less powerful, can influence forms of codeswitching that emerge along different lines of identification. Following that, codeswitching (Myers-Scotton 1998; Auer 1998) is not simply speech using two languages, but engages with complex and creative code systems like other forms of linguistic variation

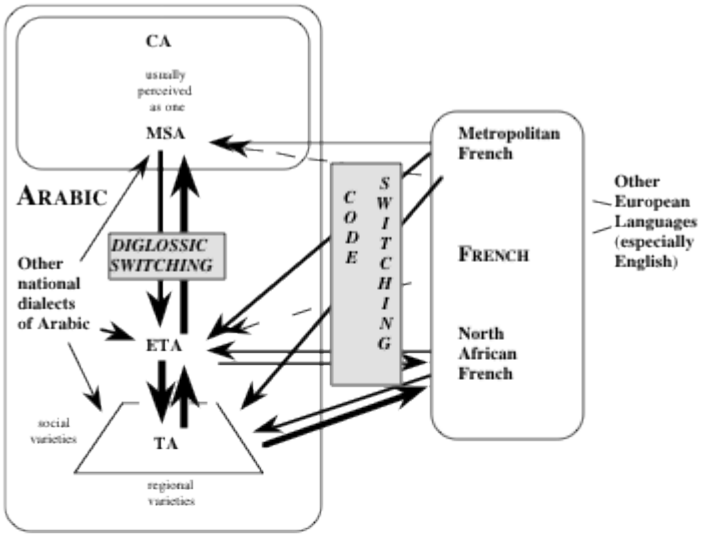
(Blom and Gumperz 1972). Invoking multiple codes in conversation can be a strategy for voicing (Woolard 1999) or for distancing (Myers-Scotton 1990) or can be performed as the unmarked code, the 'normal' mode of speech, for the community. Moreover, speakers who engage in this kind of switching do so in marked ways: the physical enunciation of a native speaker of one or another language will influence that speaker's pronunciation in another, as both a material (embodied) and expressive manifestation of linguistic practice.

The range of linguistic codes potentially accessible to Moroccans, both within national borders and outside them, illustrates the complexity of communicative practices and production as indicators of national belonging. The official language of Morocco is Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), a language that is natively spoken by no one, neither in Morocco nor elsewhere. Rather, it is a standardized language, regarded as a 'high' variety in the diglossic (Ferguson 1971; Holes 1995; Walters 2003) context of Morocco, and is the main language of written education. Spoken languages of Morocco that are said to originate in the region include Moroccan Arabic or *derija* and three grouped dialects of Amazigh (Berber) languages, officially called Tashelḥit, Tarifit and Tamazight. French is the most commonly spoken foreign language, although Spanish is also common in the northern zone of the former Spanish protectorate (Bentahila 1983; Ennaji 1991).

Although all these languages are present and accessible in this diasporic linguistic landscape, their functions and symbolic importance vary significantly according to the social variables that structure language use, like gender, class, education, place of origin, and social networks -– in essence, power. French and MSA are by far the dominant languages in this political economy. They are the primary languages of education, government, and media distribution. Until Arabization reforms through the 1980s and 1990s, French was the primary language of university education in Morocco; although it has been officially replaced now by MSA, there is still a strong Francophone academic presence, especially in elite schools (Ennaji 2002). Even now, codeswitching between Moroccan Arabic and French is very common; beyond certain 'borrows' from French that have been incorporated into Moroccan lexicon (Heath 1989), codeswitching between Moroccan Arabic and French is indicative of class and

education (Bentahila 1983) as well as gender (Walters 1996), and consequently functions as a status marker. Aside from these dominant codes, the ministry for Amazigh culture, IRCAM, has recently been charged with introducing Amazigh curriculum in schools (Ameur *et al*. 2006), although they are still viewed as less important. Their value as languages outside the narrow field of North Africa is seen as low, unlike MSA and French.

The primary language of Morocco is spoken dialectal Arabic, *derija*, which according to ideologies of Arabic does not exist as a 'language'. In most contexts, with most Moroccans, this will be the assumed common spoken code; although it can be written with Arabic script, it has no sanctioned or standardized written form. *Derija* refers to dialectal Arabic spoken across North Africa, encompassing broad regional variation such that speakers can often pinpoint local origins through attributes of speech. Most individuals who identify as Imazighen raised in Morocco will also speak *derija*, except those from particularly disadvantaged backgrounds or isolated areas (older, rural women most commonly). In certain contexts, an Amazigh dialect, French, or Spanish might be the first language used in conversation among Moroccans, depending on the region, the level of education, and the social and family origins of the speakers. MSA, although incorporated into the landscape, is primarily known in written form or through very formalized speech events (and even then there is often codeswitching with French or *derija*), and so is not a 'spoken' language in common social settings. The management of all of these linguistic influences are part of the linguistic repertoire of resident Moroccans, in a broad sense: these languages are recognizable to most Moroccans in their specific uses and status connotations, even if s/he is not capable of speaking, understanding, reading or writing it him/herself.



CA: CLASSICAL ARABIC: the Arabic of the Qur'an and the Islamic heritage

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic: basically, modernized CA, supplemented by the addition of lexical items for new technology and influenced by European languages, especially at the levels of syntax and style

ETA: Elevated Tunisian Arabic: Tunisian Arabic with learned borrowings from CA/MSA, spoken by educated Tunisians. A variety that originally began as a register, it has probably become a social (i.e., class) dialect for some, especially those growing up in urban communities in homes where both parents are well educated

TA: Tunisian Arabic, national dialect of Arabic spoken natively in Tunisia, which incorporates a large number of nativized borrowings from Berber, Italian, and French

Metropolitan French: the French of France, especially the variety legitimated by schools

North African French: French as it is used in speaking and to some degree writing by most North Africans, for whom it is not a native language. As with most nonnative varieties of a language, it is marked variably at all linguistic levels by traits distinguishing it from the variety taught in France

Codeswitching: the most common kind of codeswitching found in Tunisia is what Myers Scotton has termed "codeswitching as unmarked choice" although all four of the types of switching she delineates occur there

Diglossic switching: codeswitching between the High and Low varieties of Arabic within a single speech exchange. Most often, it involves the use of features of MSA, usually lexis or set expressions, when speaking ETA or TA

Figure 4. Language choice in multilingual settings – Language in Tunisia: Post-diglossic continuum & Post-colonial bilingualism (Walters 2003)

Figure 4, in reference to Tunisia, provides a useful visualization of the relationship between codes in a repertoire in the North African context. They are not isolated from one another in practice, nor are they equally accessible to all speakers, but they are all present in the landscape and all recognizable as distinct codes linked to distinct configurations of status and power.

Within the present context, issues of codeswitching and having access to multiple codes in a linguistic repertoire is a central element of difference between diasporic Moroccans and resident Moroccans. Their repertoires do not necessarily overlap: places of origin, family dynamics, access to education, and individual

ability all play a role in what linguistic codes and what forms of those codes are accessible to an individual. These differential abilities are embedded in ideologies of 'right' and 'wrong' languages to speak as a Moroccan in Morocco – both in a sense of a grammatical linguistic code, and in the embodied ability to speak and hear, therefore understand, communication in a 'Moroccan' way. Thus, communicative practices as a whole intersect with both a political economy of language that creates hierarchies between codes reflecting nodes of power on a global scale, and an encoding of bodies that can or cannot enact the communicative practices they are expected to produce.

2.3.2. Intersections of diasporic multilingual repertoires

Extending this landscape outside the frontiers of Morocco, following the trajectories of migrating individuals from different corners of the country to their eventual destinations, diasporic communities present a different picture of a Moroccan linguistic repertoire. Leaving aside for the purposes of this research the numerous Moroccan populations in North America, Israel, and the Gulf countries (de Haas 2007), as well as communities elsewhere in Europe, this section focuses on the population at hand. It is limited to those communities created through the labour migration of the 1960s to 1970s in France, Belgium and the Netherlands.

This population is over-represented in Amazigh origin in comparison to the population of Morocco, due to government encouragement of recruitment in Amazigh areas. Also, as recruiting agents representing specific companies tended to focus on certain regions or urban areas, the migrant neighborhoods constructed in Europe often are rooted in the same area in Morocco, meaning that they often share a regional dialect in Arabic or in an Amazigh language. These patterns of displacement of linguistic practice from one neighborhood to another have created interesting and unexpected aftereffects that are essential to comprehend the sociolinguistic composition of Moroccan diasporic communities.

Linguistic repertoires in diasporic communities can be modeled roughly in ordinal sequence by generation. The migrant generation, defined for these purposes as those who migrated after reaching maturity and leaving the parental home, are often in the most challenged position to learn a new language. Their potential for competency in the destination country language(s) generally depends on the

availability of education in that new language and on their circuits of interaction in the new community, which may encourage them towards learning the new language or permit them to continue practicing their home language in their daily activities. The post-migrant generation, defined here as those who are born to migrant parents or who migrated before beginning school (around age 4), have a higher likelihood of becoming fluently competent in the language(s) of their country of socialization, including often acquiring literacy skills in that language that their parents lack. Post-migrant generation linguistic competences in the home language also vary depending on similar community factors, like the presence or absence of the home language in the surrounding community in oral and/or written forms, but also on factors internal to the family, like birth order and the presence or absence of monolingual elders in the home[7].

Diasporic Moroccan multilingualism fits broadly into this image that describes repertoires in Morocco and outside, based on the patterns of migration and the community settlement in the three countries in question.

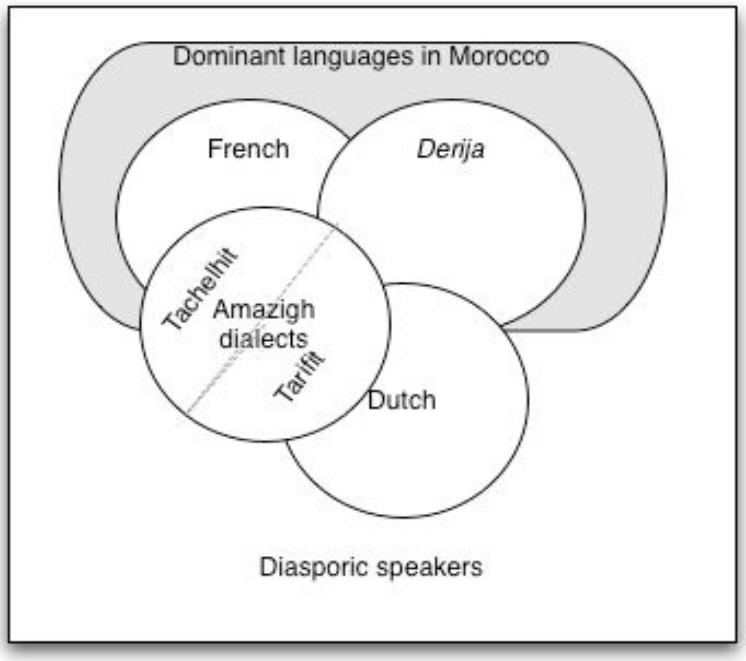


Figure 5. Overlap and disparity of spoken language repertoires between resident Moroccans and diasporic Moroccans

7. See Fishman 1985, Romaine 1991 for broad discussions of migrant bilingualism, or Wei 2010 for an encyclopedic reader.

The representation in Figure 5 is intended to draw attention to points of overlap and of disparity between these two populations, particularly the ways in which many diasporic Moroccans do not intersect with the hegemonic linguistic 'nation' in Morocco. As residents in states other than Morocco, they acquire oral and written repertoires and communicative practices that are not 'Moroccan', that is, not following the pattern of Moroccan multilingualism as practiced in the space of Morocco. Their particular patterns of multilingualism belong specifically to the post-migrant diasporic population and reflect the influences they encounter. This highlights an interesting aftereffect of migration: the creation of a population of speakers of 'Moroccan' languages, like Dutch-Amazigh bilinguals, who do not also have competences in the dominant languages of Morocco – MSA and French. The lack of typically 'Moroccan' language skills by some diasporic visitors, such as the ability to speak Tarifit but not *derija*, can be interpreted as a characteristic of their diasporic 'strangeness'.

Acquiring and being socialized in a diasporic heritage language occurs primarily through four avenues: regular face-to-face interaction with fellow community members, regular interaction at a distance with speakers from the 'homeland', occasional face-to-face interaction with speakers from the 'homeland', and consumption of media available in the diasporic setting (Deprez 1994). A formal academic system to teach the written form of the heritage language is also present in some communities, but the diversity of the Amazigh and Arab diasporic Moroccan communities makes that system more challenging and complex (Extra and Gorter 2001; Tilmatine 1997). In the current historical moment of increased speed of communication across distances, the availability of some of these forms of linguistic interaction at a distance is increasing, as well as the availability of media from a distant home. Yet it is essential to recognize that interaction at a distance fosters a different kind of linguistic socialization than face-to-face conversation.

However, face-to-face interaction with the 'home' community has not often been a subject in research on migrant bilingualism. Though they recognize the pervasive influence of the repeat visits 'home' on the linguistic practices of their populations, researchers on migrant bilinguals' language use usually do not include data collection on-site during such visits (Collins and Slembrouck, 2006; Deprez

1994; Melliani 2000; Tetreault 2004; Zentella 1997). One early study in migrant bilingualism in France identified the importance of visits home as a means of maintaining linguistic practices in the heritage language (Dabène and Billiez 1984). That study, like most work in migrant bilingualism, follows the tendency to study a 'linguistic community' in their perceived spatial community, using data acquired in the country of residence – effectively limiting the physical landscape to immediate surroundings. Koven (2002; 2004) more recently has analyzed data from Portuguese-origin French individuals, enacting a more permanent 'return' to Portugal, which will be discussed in more detail in section 6.5. In recognition of the mobility of these groups, this project follows along lines of Koven's research, recognizing the importance of space to bilingual practices and the relevance of emplacement and deterritorialization (Vigoroux 2005) to communicative practices.

2.4. Conclusion

These historical, spatial, and linguistic contexts of diaspora figure in the present project as background contexts that interlock to create a space of possibility for the present story to emerge. Proximities between Europe and Morocco enabled bidirectional historical flows of people across the Mediterranean, eventually leading to guestworker recruitment that created a larger than anticipated population of diasporic Moroccans there. This proximity and contemporary ease of travel makes it possible for post-migrant generations to return frequently as part of their normal pattern of mobilities. Impediments to mobility in the opposite direction make the presence of diasporic Moroccans in Europe especially interesting to a Moroccan state seeking to increase its access to different forms of capital. Diasporic capital is tangible and intangible; it includes money and goods sent or carried to Morocco, as well as education acquired and languages mastered outside of Morocco. As much as diasporic Moroccans collect these valued forms of capital, they may also collect devalued forms like the negative stereotypes surrounding their communities in Europe that encourage political opposition to migration and progressive closing of borders. All of these iterations participate in a complex and multifaceted story of being Moroccan in Europe.

3. Theoretical frameworks

3.1. Introduction

The theoretical conception of this project is a conviction that hyphenated ethno-national definitions in a diasporic context have little value as categorization devices in and of themselves. The importance they achieve is based on relationships built through interactions and encounters in a diasporic topological space, negotiated in acknowledgement of a perceived commonality of genealogical descent. To that end, the theoretical standpoint I take here begins with breaking down concepts related to diaspora that are about 'being', and reconfiguring their elements in an ontology that is about 'doing' and 'becoming'. In order to begin, I make a tenuous assumption that 'Moroccanness' exists, inasmuch as a number of people perceive and enact a link between themselves as part of a ideologized diasporic, 'national' Moroccan community. These people include those whom the Moroccan government terms Moroccan Nationals Resident Abroad (MNRA), colloquially called *magherba min el kharij* (Moroccans from outside) or simply *kharij*[8], and Moroccans resident in Morocco. Their interactions are the ethnographic data in the present analysis.

Pursuant to that premise, in relation to the 'contested identities' of diasporic subjects, I do not seek to decide who is 'Moroccan' and who is not, nor even to pose the question of what it is to be 'Moroccan' separately from how 'Moroccanness' is enacted in interactions. The problematic of inhabiting one or the other side of a 'hyphenated identity', or trying to fix the hyphen itself as some kind of identity, seem to always come to the same conclusion: identity, or at least identity labels, are dependent on context; the hyphen is a dialectic process. Instead, this research is undertaken to find ways to describe the tangible results and expanding implications of the diasporic hybridity by approaching from a different angle. In other words, the characteristics of being 'Moroccan', as perceived and enacted by those who claim the title as residents and non-residents, are constantly shifting; through this research I demonstrate some of the trajectories of change in

8. *Kharij* are referred to with other more derogatory terms, including *zmagria*, which is a transformation of the French *immigré* (immigrant), and *fakans*, similarly tranformed from the French *vacances* (vacation).

such a way that they might inform perspectives on the future participation of diasporic groups in the homeland that follow similar patterns of migration and return visitation.

Taking this stance, in the first part of this chapter (3.2) I will reconsider the relevance and effectiveness of notions like 'transnational' and 'diaspora' for providing a framework of migrant belonging. These terms invoke the idea of 'nation,' another problematic framework, yet one which is necessarily relevant because of its practical application through state discourse and governance. In some sense, the state-defined boundaries of 'nations' are what make this project feasible: a national group becomes a diaspora through the crossing of frontiers, which in current usage are defined through the State. Yet, for many international migrants, they did not leave the 'nation', rather a home, a specific place located within state boundaries. With this in mind, it becomes less surprising that the migrant generation usually seem to return only to visit their home place(s), and the post-migrant generations are more interested in the nation-state as a whole place to visit. 'Nation', therefore, in this project is taken as a loose signifier, to the extent that 'Moroccan' is a moniker – incidentally referring to a nation – that achieves relevance to participants as a definition linked to their diasporic homeland and reflected in their practices.

This focus on how individuals act as opposed to what they are leads me to a theoretical framework of migrant belonging based in assemblage. More so than any of the social theory I read during my postgraduate work, assemblage theories help me to describe what I observed in my data accurately, as individuals engaged in projects of becoming rather than being. This approach enabled me to rethink a model of hybridity in relation to ideas of nation as dynamics of attraction and repulsion rather than as being or not-being in binary opposition. It also enabled me to reconsider familiar theories of communicative practice in ways that extend beyond linguistic competences into a holistic imagining of embodied interaction. My exploration into assemblage theory begins in section 3.3, and continues for the rest of this chapter and throughout the thesis.

In the final section of this chapter (3.4), I consider how bodies are central to this exploration of diasporic practice. To do so, I first introduce my own term

embodimentality as a revised means to reference how bodies are both physical and practiced in one unit. I then turn to discussions of communicative and consumption practices as ways that diasporic bodies are practiced during diasporic return to Morocco, finally discussing how these bodies can become viscous collectivities, creating a presence that is more than the sum of its parts.

Addressing 'nation', even by discounting it, means taking on language as embedded in a nation-state self-image. 'National' languages have been historically essential in defining the nation and its boundaries, extending into diasporic groups as a significant symbolic system of belonging. However, the diasporic use of a heritage language often diverges from the national model over generations, following its own trajectory in the periphery and potentially influencing the national center (cf Al Batal 2002). As 'outsiders', or diasporic visitors, my participants' knowledges of Moroccan languages, embedded within knowledges of cultural practices, is one essential element that distinguishes the *kharij* from other touristic visitors to Morocco. This distinction, however, is not equal to being 'Moroccan', as their diasporic linguistic practices include languages that are external to the Moroccan nation within its borders, apart from the moment of their annual visit. As such, the question becomes not only what languages are in use, but more importantly where, with whom, and to what effect. It resonates with how their practices in Morocco create networks of geographical spaces, that emerge in collective formations encouraged and reproduced by their choices in practice.

Dynamics of tourism likewise emerge in relation to migration, as an embodied act of mobility with implications for consumption. Much of tourism scholarship reiterates the distanciation between visitors and the locality visited achieved through consumptive act of touring. For Morocco, as an historically Oriental destination and a 'developing' country, this distanciation is reinforced by discourses of otherness, authenticity and valuation that exert influence on European visitors, even on those that know it as a home. The context of 'return' and the potential for belonging in the place visited forces us to consider the potential reverberations of a touristic distanciation between the *kharij* and the space of Morocco.

Thus, in the stead of 'nation' or 'transnational' dynamics of enacting diasporic belonging, I propose an assemblage approach. Conceiving of diasporic practices through bodies in assemblage allow me to follow lines of intersection that emerge from my empirical data reflecting how participants' practices formed a shape of 'being-Moroccan' that had elements of 'nation' along with elements exceeding it. The theoretical questions central to this research therefore address this as a process: What are the dimensions of 'Moroccanness' that emerge through the practice of 'going home' on holiday? What does the shape of this '-ness', as something created through interaction that becomes expansive and confining, tell us about the potentials of diasporic attachment and the mechanisms that keep it alive and circulating? These theoretical questions reflect a process of discovering what the limits of 'Moroccanness' are, as they might be practiced by individuals and negotiated in interaction, and furthermore exploring how the deterritorialization of an 'identity' like this – linked to linear ideas of blood and soil – impacts on its perpetuation and reimagining in nonlinear repetition. Drawing on assemblage instead of theories of discursivity or performativity enable me to follow those lines without attributing them to a scalar power structure, locating them instead as immanent becomings momentarily witnessed during this particular summer.

3.2. Defining nation: Reconsidering models of nationhood as relevant dimensions

Many cities in Morocco have a message displayed prominently (in Arabic) on a hillside overlooking the population, carefully laid out in white stones: *allah*, *el watan*, *el malik*, God, homeland, king. These three words form one concept that defines the nation of Morocco as it has been imagined since Independence: a group of (Muslim) believers, linked to this land, under a king whose power is undeniable through his religious birthright. Migration challenges this national form by presenting contrasting influences and conflicting opportunities for Moroccans who migrate to show allegiance to other national projects. It presents a challenge as well to the countries where migrants arrive, who design different ways of incorporating their bodies and lives into those national spaces. The ability to belong within two different nations, embodied by the post-migrant generation, violates the imagined

unity of 'nation' and creates the need for new configurations for how this sense of hybridized belonging can exist. Here I will consider some theoretical formations of 'nation', 'ethnicity', and 'transnational', with specific attention to ways they have been formulated and applied to post-migrant generation subjects. I, along with other recent work (Brubaker 2002; 2009; Wimmer 2008; 2009) prefer an approach that centers on grounded realizations of these terms, as they become meaningfully relevant, or not, in given circumstances.

Numerous approaches have been suggested for discussing the origins, structures, practices, and effects of nations and nationalism (Anderson 1983; Billig 1995; Gellner 2006; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992; Smith 1988). Ways of inhabiting 'national identity' that emerge from these arguments vary from attachment to a place as a homeland, to idealization of particular forms of cultural expression as exemplary of the nation, to adherence to modes of governance or order based in specific 'national' institutions. Not far from uses of 'nation' are framings of 'ethnicity', often rooted in Weber's (1978) use of ethnic groups in conjunction with communities of and for themselves, something more than kinship but less than race (Barth 1969; van den Berghe 1981; Billinger 2007; Eipper 1983; Hall 1992; Nayak 2006; Sollors 1986; 1989; Vermeulen and Govers 1994, Williams 1989). Mostly, 'ethnicity' oscillates around axes of community membership via political status, racial or descent-based cohesion, and cultural unity, with institutional governance remaining a distinction between it and 'nation'. Yet both of these terms become unwieldy in their application: they can vary in usage across geopolitical regions (Begag 2007, Kivisto 2008, Naylor 1997), encourage comparison where it is inappropriate, or bring focus to distinctions that are not relevant and elide ones that are. Relying on pre-assigned monikers of 'nation' or 'ethnicity' to characterize groups encourages the researcher to make assumptions that may not be reflected in data.

The group at hand in this project are identified as participants because of their family histories of inter-national migration. Such individuals circulate in social science literature in relation to nation in a discourse of cultural mixture and hybridity (Bhabha 1994; Gilroy 1993; Hall 1996; Hannerz 1990) or in one of institutional and/or cultural assimilation or integration into a host 'nation' (Brubaker 1996; Joppke 1999). Multiculturalism ideologically incorporates migrant members

into a liberal nation-state, however its effectiveness is questionable (Baumann 1999; Hesse 2000; Joppke and Lukes 1999; Kymlicka 1995). All of these paradigms recognize the mixture migrants offer to the nation, but remain contested and problematic in their application because they rely implicitly on a unified and unifying 'nation' as a basis for belonging.

Arguments have been put forward for the development of a theoretical approach that circumvents 'nation' as the pertinent means of categorization for migrants (Basch *et al*. 1994; Cheah and Robbins 1998; Levitt *et al*. 2003; Soysal 1994; Vertovec 2001b). Contesting the construct of 'nation', Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2002) assert that the emergence of social science disciplines coincided with the emergence of modern nation-statehood, providing a ready platform for constructing concepts of identity and belonging through what they call 'methodological nationalism'. Though national frameworks are relevant to many processes, 'nation' may be more useful in describing what states do in order to create and maintain the imagined unity of the nation-state as opposed to describing the daily interests of their inhabitants. While individuals might be aware of their 'nation' on a daily basis (cf Billig 1995), its presence as a theoretical framework structuring cohesion and difference in social science literature may exaggerate its ordinary relevance (cf Conradson and Latham 2005; 2007).

Scholars working in a rubric of transnationalism have also noted the importance of return visits as formative childhood events, or as adult pilgrimages (Levitt 2002; Glick Schiller and Fouron 2001; Rumbaut and Portes 2001). However, they generally do not attempt to participate in the event, confining themselves to narrative interview data and participant self-reflection on the impact of the visit. Interest in post-migrant generations has been focused on their (often problematic) integration into the destination country (Joppke and Morawska 2003; Taïeb 1998; Simon 1999; Laroussi 2001; Crul and Vermeulen 2003; Wikan 2002), leaving the sending country aside as distantly impotent, or at worst degenerative, in that dynamic. Through this exploration of going to Morocco on holiday, I document how Morocco as a place and 'Moroccanness' as an idea are potent parts of being diasporically 'Moroccan' – but not necessarily as a 'national' designation.

The wave of research on transnationalism in connection to international migration has contributed to drawing focus on 'nation' as a territorially bounded space, and as a source for frameworks of belonging. Since its initial use, a transnational framework has quickly moved from an approach that was popular and promising (Basch *et al*. 1994; Hannerz 1996; Ong 1999; Portes *et al*. 1999; Tölöyan 1996) to one that is contested and overwrought (Crang *et al*. 2003; Vertovec 2001a). The implicit unity of 'nation' introduces an inherent problem in terms of defining the 'transnational':

> Trans*national* semantically refers us to the non-trans*national* or simply to the national as the entity that is crossed or superseded. Migrants are no longer uprooted or climbing up the assimilation ladder to the national middle classes, but they are still the others, foreign and alien to the nationally-bounded society. Studies that examine the connections between transnational migrants and actors within the various localities in which they settle and into which they move could carry us beyond the static, reified and essentialized concept of community and into the study of migrants and non-migrants within social fields of differential power. (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002, 324, italics original)

As Wimmer and Glick Schiller point out in the above excerpt, transnational makes 'nation' the issue, whether or not 'nation' is relevant to the potentially diverse social fields within which migrants position themselves on an everyday basis.

This disconnection from grounded behavior becomes particularly evident when juxtaposing a nation like Morocco with 'multicultural nations' like France, Belgium or the Netherlands. National ideologies do not all take the same avenues of state, cultural, or political adherence as elements of belonging. In contrast with the liberal European model, non-multicultural nation-states might maintain and reproduce the Herderian concept of a single national volk by restricting rights of citizenship only to those who adhere to its requirements – cultural, linguistic, genealogical and, to some extent, religious.

Morocco is one example, made particularly evident through notions of religion and genealogy. Whereas dominant religious cultural systems of Western Europe are often barred explicitly from law but still operate in implicit forms (Soysal 1997; Vertovec and Peach 1997), in Morocco the religious cultural system is proclaimed by the state as such. While the most recent constitution (1996) adopted universal human rights, along the lines of Western liberal secular politics, it also maintains that Morocco is an Islamic state[9]. Religion is unsurprisingly a source of

9. The Islamic foundations of Moroccan law is illustrated by the arrest of six protesters for publicly breaking fast during Ramadan 1430 (Sandals 2009)

contentious activity in terms of Moroccan integration in Europe (Césari 2004; Lewis and Schnapper 1994).

Likewise, the Moroccan state model of inherited citizenship is anathema to the liberal model allowing acquisition and renunciation. Having Moroccan citizenship, and therefore belonging in the Moroccan 'nation,' is transmitted to any child of a Moroccan citizen, irrespective of birthplace[10]. It cannot be renounced, as is sometimes required to become a citizen of another state. Furthermore, descent is the only way to become a Moroccan citizen; only those born to Moroccan parents or born in Morocco can acquire it. As such Moroccan nationality is passed irrevocably and exclusively by descent, adhering to patterns more overtly attributed to ethnicity in Western scholarship (Weber 1978, 389) rather than nation. Moroccan nationality, in contrast with French, Belgian or Dutch nationality, acts as an intrinsic attribute of birth rather than a contract with the state that may be a birthright, but also can be chosen or rejected. When in contact with each other, these differing philosophies of citizenship and nationality can create friction.

In short, different 'nations' can act through or be concerned with very different dimensions of belonging as part of their defining characteristics, making their comparison or combination potentially complex. Brubaker, in a number of recent articles (2002; 2008; 2009), has been revising social category appellations related to ethnicity and nation as, 'a new field of study that is *comparative*, *global*, *cross-disciplinary*, and *multiparadigmatic*, and that construes ethnicity, race, and nationhood as a *single integrated family of forms* of cultural understanding, social organization, and political contestation' (2009, 22, italics original). While accepting that ethnicity and nation can be accurate to some descriptions, they are not always applicable, nor are they equally applied in diverse contexts. Similarly, transnationalism does not necessarily manifest in cross-border activities, to the extent that 'nation' is or is not a relevant part of belonging. For my purposes, then, it is more coherent to focus on dimensions of belonging themselves, like the act of traveling to Morocco as an expression of belonging in a community. Such acts become relevant in situation-specific ways, not uniformly in relation to a spectre of 'nation'.

10. Until a recent set of laws regarding women's and family rights were signed by King Mohammed VI, citizenship could only be passed patrilineally. It is now passed by either Moroccan parent.

3.2.1. Actively belonging in multiple places: Hybridity as diasporic

Instead of focusing on national loyalties in discussing my participants' involvement in Morocco, I consider their sense of affiliation through practice implicated in a diasporic framework. 'Diaspora', as used to describe dispersal of a population from a homeland, has had an equally problematic development as 'nation' or 'transnational'. Since its original restricted application to certain historically specific cases of population dispersal (Gilroy 1993; Schnapper 1999; Shuval 2000; Tölöyan 1996), it has been used in reference to various large-scale movements (Cohen 1997) and to different approaches to attachment to a distant homeland (Anthias 1998; Mavroudi 2007; Werbner 2002). Cohen is particularly concerned with defining 'diaspora' as representing only migrant groups that adhere to certain qualities (1997, 180), which arguably includes the Moroccan 'diaspora' in Europe and elsewhere. However, the application of a broad term to all those who migrated from Morocco, regardless of their conditions of migration, may engender similar generalized imaginings of unity to those of the 'nation'. In lieu of applying 'diaspora' to this population, I suggest describing some of their practices as 'diasporic'.

I use diasporic in an adjectival sense to connote connection to an (imagined) homeland and a sense of belonging in the (imagined) cultural/social space of that homeland. Individuals acting diasporically may have political or economic projects that use the homeland as a source of reference or a reason for action, but they are projects that impact primarily lives and activities that take place elsewhere. 'Diasporic' as I use it here refers to distance through space in Massey's sense (2005) that is both spatial and temporal. That is, diasporic pull can reflect nostalgic impulses for moments of past experiences alongside involvement in dynamics of distant places, between adjoining regions or across distant borders. Describing what these individuals do as 'diasporic' instead of transnational recognizes that the influence they are drawn to is situated in a specific distant place, to which they are connected through 'rootedness' of perceived linear origins, as opposed to a 'national' project of unity.

I come to this usage in following, on one hand, Brah's (1996) conceptualization of diaspora. She evokes a sense of attachment to a place as home

as opposed to a national space. For her, diaspora 'offers a critique of discourses of fixed origin, while taking account of a homing desire which is not the same thing as desire for a "homeland"' (1996, 180). Her description focuses on the paired concepts of 'home' and 'location', neither of which are fixed in space in a diasporic context, but rather form an intersection of elements between the diasporic place and the location of residence. That is, both places are equally definable as home, and are equally places of location and dislocation for diasporic individuals:

> Where is home? On the one hand, 'home' is a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. In this sense it is a place of no return, even if it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is seen as the place of 'origin'. On the other hand, home is also the lived experience of a locality. Its sounds and smells, its heat and dust, balmy summer evenings, or the excitement of the first snowfall, shivering winter evenings, somber grey skies in the middle of the day… all this, as mediated by the historically specific everyday of social relations. (1996, 192)

She continues: 'The question of home, therefore, is intrinsically linked with the way in which processes of inclusion or exclusion operate and are subjectively experienced under given circumstances. It is centrally about our political and personal struggles over the social regulation of "belonging"' (ibid).

Thus, the sense of location in diasporic contexts is necessarily multiple, but not necessarily 'hybrid' (Kalra *et al,* 2005), split or broken, neither here nor there; belonging in a diasporic context is being both attached to and detached from the referent spaces of home, being both 'local' and 'stranger'. Dispersal from any locality leaves behind spaces that continue on their own trajectories, unimpeded by and unconscious of the distant trajectories of other linked spaces (Massey 2005, 123-125). Movement of members of the dispersed community to the diasporic center creates an intersection of related but distinct spaces and their inhabitants. Such movements force mutual recognition of difference along with sameness, of *local* and of *strange*.

I consider Ahmed's (2000) contribution to an ontology of belonging, measured by bodies in relations of sameness and otherness, in conjunction with Brah's notion of diaspora. If the presence of strangers helps to define boundaries by defining otherness, the presence of 'strangers' who also have a claim to localness might shape these boundaries in unexpected ways. Ahmed provides a number of theoretical openings for approaching strangeness, as well as collecting cogent questions about the affective dynamic between 'home' and belonging: 'Home is

implicitly constructed as a purified space of belonging in which the subject is too comfortable to question the limits or borders of her or his experience, indeed, where the subject is so at ease that she or he does not think' (2000, 87). Her construction of home allows us to consider the inclusion of multiple spaces of home for a single subject, who can be equally unquestioning (or equally questioning) of multiple environments. She also takes into account the paradox of return:

> [I]t is impossible to return to a place that was lived as home, precisely because the home is not exterior but interior to embodied subjects. The movements of subjects between places that come to be inhabited as home involve the discontinuities of personal biographies and wrinkles in the skin. The experience of leaving home in migration is hence always about the failure of memory to make sense of the place one comes to inhabit, a failure that is experienced in the discomfort of inhabiting a migrant body, a body that feels out of place. (2000, 91)

Here, she brings focus to the body and the affective sense of inhabiting a home, the sense which comes to the forefront when diasporic visitors move from homespace to homespace. Thus, 'the question of home and being-at-home can only be addressed by considering the question of affect: being-at-home is a matter of how one feels or how one might fail to feel' (2000, 89).

The configuration of diasporic I advocate is therefore a double action, both pulling individuals towards a source through a 'homing desire' and repelling from it. Much like 'nation' might operate in different dimensions simultaneously and to different ends, *diasporic attachment* can create belonging in some aspects while creating a lack of belonging – the failure to feel at home – in others. Instead of applying 'diaspora' exclusively to some dimensions of practice and not others, i.e. making it only applicable to pre-defined activities like political engagement or desire to return, I consider diasporic as potentially momentary and minute, but nevertheless a part of dynamics of belonging for those who feel themselves at 'home' in multiple places. It may not be relevant for all those who trace their origins to a moment of migratory rupture, but it has the potential to be relevant for such persons through practice.

3.2.2. Potent metaphors: Descent *and* place

Given this definition, the question then becomes one of how a practice can be labeled diasporic. I frame diasporic action as defined by an ideology of origins,

and how individuals construe themselves as belonging along dimensions of familial rootedness related to *descent* and *place*. These two aspects of belonging are usually invoked or implied through both nation and ethnicity labels, but are more explicitly linked to being diasporic as they imply 'blood' or *descent* relations to a source familial origin (Nash 2008), and 'soil' or links to a *place* of origin (Malkki 1992). I use them in italics throughout this thesis to bring attention to how they work as trajectories in concert, and not as definitions; as a dynamic in flux, with a reference point relationship that is often colloquially assumed to be one-to-one. Despite the ordinariness of human migration, this normalized relationship makes migratory mobility appear disruptive when the link between *descent* and *place* becomes nonlinear.

Membership in groups organized by *descent* and *place* are salient for recognizing state normalization of this relationship as much as they are for understanding how people categorize themselves and others (Verdery 1993). Brubaker's (1992) analysis of immigration law in France and Germany describes the effects of classificatory systems privileging *ius soli* (right of soil) versus *ius sanguinis* (right of blood), in company with a number of other comparative analyses of migration (Brubaker 1989; Castles & Miller 1998; Joppke 1998; 1999; Joppke & Morowska 2003; Kymlicka 1995). Likewise, cognitive anthropologists argue for the relevance of perceived blood relationships, read broadly through perceived ethnic similarity and difference, in defining like and unlike others (D'Andrade 1995; Gil-White 2001; 2005). Much like the operation of other categorizing attributes, like 'race' or 'nation', *descent* can become relevant to defining or dividing groups.

While *descent* or *place* play material roles in determining who can and cannot participate in a state-based 'nation,' they have farther reaching impact on who can participate diasporically. Nash's research (2002; 2004; 2005; 2008) reflects both the significance of perceived genealogical connection for her diasporic Irish participants as well as the inherent malleability of its forms, within and independently of state functioning. Her 'geographies of relatedness' also point to the implicitly geographical dimension of forms of kinship and *descent*, in that tracing genetic links leads to seeking homelands.

This pattern of 'roots to routes', moving from links defined by *descent* to those defined by *place*, seems as relevant to generationally-distant diasporas (Basu 2004, Clifford 1997) as to more proximal descendants (Levitt 2009). Discussing struggles of refugees to make claims to estranged nations, Malkki (1992) evokes the link between genealogical 'nativeness' and the naturalization of territorial attachment:

> [P]eople are often thought of, and think of themselves, as being rooted in place and as deriving their identity from that rootedness. The roots in question here are not just any kind of roots; very often they are specifically arborescent in form...[M]etaphors of kinship (motherland, fatherland, *Vaterland*, *patria*, *isanmaa*) and of home (homeland, *Heimat*, *kotimaa*) are also territorializing in this same sense; for these metaphors are thought to "denote something to which one is naturally tied" (Anderson 1983, 131). Motherland and fatherland, aside from their other historical connotations, suggest that each nation is a grand genealogical tree, rooted in the soil that nourishes it. By implication, it is impossible to be a part of more than one tree. Such a tree evokes both temporal continuity of essence and territorial rootedness. (27-28, italics original)

While her evaluation of 'homeland' may be a simplistic reading of a linguistic sign as more than its signifier (Bloch 1991), Malkki's reflection on how the metaphor of 'homeland' is an actor in territorializing its offspring extends the metaphor to its logical conclusion: as much as *descent* implies blood linkages, it also implies rootedness in a particular soil of an (imagined) ancestor in a linear relationship.

Malkki also recognizes the converse implication, that '[t]he powerful metaphoric practices that so commonly link people to place are also deployed to understand and act upon the categorically aberrant condition of people whose claims on, and ties to, national soils are regarded as tenuous, spurious, or nonexistent' (1992, 27). Connections through *descent* can shape individuals' imagined and actualized activity in a homeland, reinforcing or even intensifying its effect when 'blood' and 'soil' are divided (Glick Schiller 2005) – in other words, when the linear relationship is broken. When *descent* connections are understood as true via mythology, family, genetics, or other explanatory systems (El Haj 2007; Franklin 2003; Nash 2005), places that are meant to be linked to it can become contested objects (Long, 2009). At its simplest, migration in any form creates the circumstance of tenuous claims on soil, by displacing roots from one land and forcibly planting them, to a greater or lesser extent, in others.

By evoking metaphors linking 'blood' and 'soil' I do not suggest that 'Moroccanness' is a biologically determined entity, but a material condition. The

combination of beliefs – both state-supported and otherwise institutional – about blood-line *descent* and its implicit connections to particular soils in *place* form a linear vernacular biological determinism, giving 'Moroccanness' material outcomes that are more than discursive. These bodies must be Moroccan because they are linear *descendants* of other Moroccans; yet simultaneously they cannot be Moroccan because their connection to the *place* of Morocco is tenuously practiced.

This materiality emerges in interactions where and when being or not-being 'Moroccan' becomes relevant and inseparable from practice. In fact, by drawing out these metaphors, I hope to demonstrate how an essentialized 'Moroccanness' is proven untrustworthy to interactants who expect certain elements to be linked to the category and discover them absent, or who perform attributes they perceive to be important but lacking. Thus, this -ness does not follow definitions of 'ethnicity' or 'nation', in that it is not necessarily a shared 'culture', language, homeland, politics or religion that make these individuals 'Moroccan'. Instead, I characterize it through assemblage, as an entity emergent through practices.

3.3. Migrant belonging through assemblage

> When it was enthusiastically pointed out within memory of our present Academy that race or gender or nation...were so many social constructions, inventions, and representation, a window was opened, an invitation to begin the critical project of analysis and cultural reconstruction was offered. And one still feels its power even though what was nothing more than an invitation, a preamble to investigation has, by and large, been converted instead into a conclusion – eg. "sex is a social construction," "race is a social construction", "the nation is an invention," and so forth, the tradition of invention. The brilliance of the pronouncement was blinding. Nobody was asking what's the next step? What do we do with this old insight? If life is constructed, how come it appears so immutable? How come culture appears so natural? If things coarse and subtle are constructed, then surely they can be reconstrued as well? To adopt Hegel, the beginnings of knowledge were made to pass for actual knowing. (Taussig 1993: xvi)

To elaborate on how I apply assemblage in this research, I work through here an assemblage approach to the notion of belonging in migration contexts in an attempt to shift that notion from duality and hybridity towards multiplicities in relation to singularities. In other words, instead of speaking about individuals who have multifaceted identities, I will speak about individuals who are multiple, or entities in multiplicity, who become in relation to nodes of attracting force, or singularities.

Approaches based on Deleuzian theory, or on similar theories of complexity and interaction, are increasingly present in human geography (Anderson and Harrison 2010a; Jones *et al*. 2007; McCormack 2007; Thrift 2004a; Swanton 2008) and elsewhere in social sciences (Bennett 2001; 2010; Stewart 2007). While implicitly drawing on Deleuze's construction of assemblage (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Deleuze 1994), my understanding of its principles is constructed primarily through others' interpretations of it, specifically those of Grosz (1994), Saldanha (2007), Marston *et al*. (2005), and also DeLanda (2002, 2006) through his project of restructuring and retelling Deleuze's theoretical formations. DeLanda's more recent advocacy of an assemblage approach to social theory (2006) reflects some of his own philosophy, in applications beyond Deleuze's purview. The perspective he offers has been contested by some geographers (Allen 2009; Anderson and Harrison 2010b), taking issue with his realist approach, but I find aspects of his work compelling and applicable to my research.

Grosz provides an eloquent portrait of Deleuzian assemblage and how it operates:

> Assemblages are the provisional linkages of elements, fragments, flows, of disparate status and substance: ideas, things – human, animate, and inanimate – all have the same ontological status. There is no hierarchy of being, no preordained order to the collection and conjunction of these various fragments, no central organization or plan to which they must conform. Their 'law' is rather the imperative of endless experimentation, metamorphosis, or transmutation, alignment and realignment. It is not that the world is without strata, totally flattened; rather, the hierarchies are not the result of substances and their nature and value but of modes of organization of disparate substances. They are composed of lines, of movements, speeds, and intensities, rather than of things and their relations. Assemblages or multiplicities, then, because they are essentially in movement, in action, are always made, not found. They are the consequences of a practice, whether it be that of the bee in relation to the flower and the hive or of a subject making something using tools or implements. They are necessarily finite in space and time, provisional and temporary in status; they always have an outside; they do not, or need not, belong to a higher-order machine. (Grosz 1994, 167-8)

Her description summarizes a few essential points: assemblages are multiplicities, composed of many entities and composing other entities; they have no fixed form, never 'being' but always 'becoming' through practice; hierarchy between entities is not scalar or external; to the extent that hierarchy exists, it emerges through relationships in a topological space. Unlike a discursive approach, thinking with assemblage means beginning with a system in constant flux, with no scales, no

beings in place and no discourses as powerful. All relationships, all interactions, are on equal footing with potential to become actualized or not.

In order to better clarify my theoretical project at the outset, I am including here an introductory discussion of assemblage terminology I will use throughout the thesis, based on a figure that has been my starting point in visualizing assemblage.

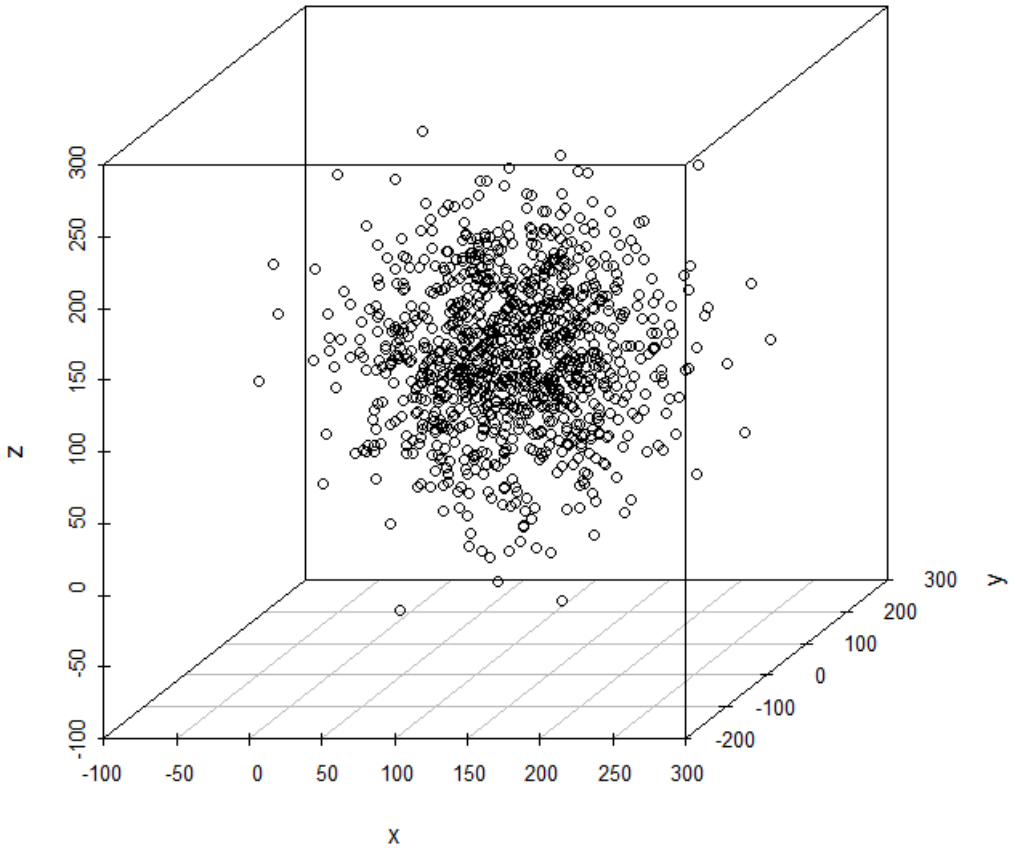


Figure 6. Point cloud of random normally distributed coordinates[11]

Figure 6 is a three dimensional space, occupied by entities mapped along X, Y and Z coordinates. Their coordinate values were generated as random numbers adhering to a normal statistical curve, meaning that their position reflects a distribution of attributes that one would expect to find in a random sampling of a normally distributed population. The three depicted dimensions could be representative of dimensions of 'identity', like gender, religion, and nationality. The whole group of points could represent individuals, assigned a coordinate along axes of gender, religion and nationality, based on some arbitrary numerical

11. My thanks to fellow UCL postgraduate Daniel Lewis for his computing expertise in creating this figure.

valuation of these dimensions. Their normal distribution reflects the fact that 'identity' is not identical across multiple individuals; validly accessing an 'identity' along these dimensions means being within an acceptable range around an ideal value. A normal distribution also represents a lack of complicating factors exerting force on these relationships, so that the way gender, religion and nationality interact with one another for this imaginary sample is straightforward and unified.

To demonstrate assemblage, this three-dimensional representation becomes inadequate. 'Identities' have many more than three dimensions, they are not static, and only rarely are they free from complicating external forces. To be accurately reimagined, this figure would need to be transformed in a number of ways. First, each entity should be drawn with a directional vector, reflecting its trajectory and rate of change. Second, the points should not be represented as discrete: each of these dots would be fuzzy and indistinct. Each dot is an assemblage of point clouds and each point cloud is part of another dot, in a continuous chain of entities perpetually taking shape and in turn becoming part of a collection of entities taking shape. Third, I would strip this figure of its three-dimensional axes, to reflect its mapping in relation to a singularity, alternately called an attractor, which is the central void that no entity can occupy. In the manner of an asymptotic discontinuity, there is no 'perfect' example of 'identity', only entities that approach and recede from the place where the perfect example would be. This creates a relationship of attraction and repulsion from this ideal attractor, or singularity, which itself cannot be fixed in place. Attractors interact with entities, making the entire cloud shift as a complex push and pull between a central force and peripheral ones pulling in many directions. The cloud form, however, works. Through assemblage I imagine belonging as an indistinct, multidimensional cloud, with infinite possibilities of configuration but which tends to create normal shapes clustering around a singularity.

This image of a point cloud can represent the way an assemblage exists in motion, but it cannot represent the past and future iterations of entities that are part of assemblage in the present. The vectors of movement represent anticipated trajectories of each of these entities, which is adjusted from moment to moment leaving some paths not followed. These unactualized paths are incorporated into

entities as *virtualities*, multilayered shadows of an alternate trajectory that are part of actualized trajectories. Alternate unactualized potentials exist as both past and future in the present, part of what an entity in assemblage could be or might have been that refracts in actualization. In absence of all of these other layers, of virtualities and vectors of movement, Figure 6 is a partial image of state space, or a frozen moment of this multiplicity that is in constant motion.

In this mapping of entities in relation to singularities and to each other, the distance between entities is not a numerical value, like a Cartesian coordinate, but an ordinal value, like a logarithm. This creates a flat topological space in which entities have relationships of proximity through orders of magnitude rather than numerical value. Their clustering or dispersion is therefore, again, not a mapping of an individual entity in relation to a Cartesian axis, rather of each entity in relation to others and to singularities through proximities and distances from each other. This primal relationality of entities means they have no form or positioning except in relation to one another. Each fuzzy point is in motion in relation to other points, in an equilibrium of movement that might be stable or unstable. Stable movement would be consistent in direction and speed, while unstable equilibrium incorporates wider and sharper variations in trajectory. To give an example, a system with multiple singularities would create stronger forces in multiple directions, instead of coagulating force around a single attractor. Entities in this system are subject to destabilization, as stronger forces are exerted on them in divergent directions, resulting in a less stable equilibrium.

This motion in relation to others creates an effect of collectivity. The cloud above reflects a normalized statistical grouping, where 95% of the population falls within a defined range of values and 5% falls outside that range. Turning this idea of normalcy towards assemblage, with entities that are in constant motion, this cloud would move as a swarm, possibly changing form and losing or adding members, but maintaining an overall indistinct shape reflecting the tendency to group around an attractor that is itself in motion. Without other complicating forces, this group would maintain 95% of its members within a range of normalcy.

For example, the fuzzy points in this cloud, now divested of its Cartesian coordinates, could each represent a person. His or her trajectory continues in

relation to both idealized projects of 'identity' that he or she might espouse, and to others in proximity to them. The fuzziness of each point reflects the fact that each individual is also made up of a cloud of entities, both material, like skin color and height, and expressive, like religious belief and taste in music. All of these aspects of personhood interact intensively in multiplicity, meaning that they cannot be divided from one another. Yet such entities can inspire changes in trajectory, the way a person's taste in music evolves with age, or the way skin goes from light to dark through tanning. These changes may seem discrete, as if they take place in a self contained unit, but they are a result of interaction between entities, in the way music preferences change in contact with other people and skin pigment becomes darker by interacting with rays of light.

Even material interactions like tanning are implicated in social forces through their interaction with an attractor. Material change in skin pigmentation – tanning – may be expressively related to poverty from working in agricultural fields, or related to wealth from the leisure of sunbathing. Each of these material and expressive interactions depends on the other to become actualized, and to make sense as related to one attractor or another. Skin pigment could darken or lighten as a material property, but it is a property in assemblage with other entities, like the sun and systems of wealth, labor and beauty. Tanning cannot exist as exclusively material, as it is always already implicated in expressive systems as well.

In the remainder of this section, I repeat and elaborate the terms and relationships discussed above as a means of understanding practices related to migration through a framework of assemblage. This discussion begins with a re-evaluation of hybridity through assemblage, then moves into a consideration of what 'Moroccanness' might be shaped like, in the shadow of the master concept of 'nation'. Following these steps, I consider, through an assemblage perspective, how 'Moroccanness' becomes embodied in material and expressive ways. Building on the materiality of bodies and processes particular to human sociality, I explore how generational steps in proximity and distance are evident in the flatness of assemblage, and finally how stabilizing and destabilizing forces exert influence on the equilibrium of this diasporic Moroccan assemblage.

3.3.1. Reframing hybridity: From duality to multiplicity

The concept behind hybridity is persistent and contested in social science research, variously known through terms like syncretism (Herskovits 1990), bricolage (Levi-Strauss 1966), and creolization (Hannerz 1987). All these terms point to the combination of seemingly incompatible stable binaries: nature and culture (Whatmore 2002), colonist and colonized (Young 1995), whiteness and blackness (Ahmed 1999), diverse linguistic voices (Bakhtin 1981), and selves and others through identity politics (Gilroy 1993; Bhabha 1994). These combinations become implicated in newness and progression, credited as a space of possibility (Kapchan and Strong 1999; Samuels 1999; Hutnyk 2005). Yet implicit in these combinations is an assumption of essences: 'to what degree does the assertion of hybridity rely on the positing of an anterior "pure" that precedes mixture?' (Kalra *et al*. 2005, 72). For the hybrid to be something new, it must signify destruction or deconstruction of something old. Furthermore, for the hybrid to be noticed, it often involves an impossible combination of seemingly incompatible dimensions, like religious forms, cultural origins, languages, or 'races' trespassing through each other's implicit domain. Here is where hybridity becomes a source of trouble, when entities do not fit into categorical boxes, being 'neither here nor there' like the examples in the Introduction (1.1).

Potter and Phillips frame the problematic of this practical hybridity through Fanon's 'black skin-white mask identity':

> [T]he dialectically alienating black skin–white mask identity is precarious (Fanon 1967) because it often involves mimicry of a white English identity (Bhabha 1999) and is never entirely successful within the postcolonial context; it is an illusion and also a sign of loss with respect to a black (and 'inferior') identity (Bhabha 1999). Thus, it results in a new liminal identity, the state of flux of which is its inbetween nature of being neither white nor black, neither English nor West Indian, neither self nor other. This hybrid identity of the Bajan-Brit embodies both white and black characteristics and is constantly in a state of slippage. Moreover, the need to provide agency to such an identity is the basis for migration to Barbados for many of our informants. (Phillips and Potter 2006, 311)

Potter and Phillips identify a 'black skin–white mask identity' in order to provide agency to the partiality or hybridity they find in Bajan-Brit discourse about diasporic return to Barbados, creating a 'liminal identity'. Through assemblage, I attempt the same move, but not by reframing the 'identity' as liminal, and therefore

precarious and unseated. Rather, assemblage helps me frame such processes of complex combination and slippage as part of the formation of multiplicity.

As in the point cloud figure above, multiplicity begins without reference to essence. Entities in multiplicity are constantly combining and separating, forming a new combination or repeating a common combination in a slightly different way. Yet multiplicities are not shapeless. Take Erikson's description of 'social identities' as they enter into linguistic interaction:

> [O]ne can be simultaneously college-educated, an engineer, a church-goer, the mother of three young children – one of whom has leukemia – local officer in a political party of the moderate left, child of divorced parents, owner of a Border collie, member of an immigrant minority group, person in their thirties who worked on an assembly line as a young adult, and a woman who is bisexual. These attributes are located on various dimensions of identification. Which particular aspects of identity – or particular combinations of them – will become salient within a given encounter is something that interlocutors point to behaviorally during the course of their interaction together and that others ratify in their reactions to the speaker of the moment. At one moment some attributes may be made relevant and salient and at other moments some others may become salient, but the full multiplicity of aspects of social identity rarely become salient simultaneously in a single social encounter. Rather, specific social identities of the moment are constructed/accomplished through the conjoint actions of interloctuors during the course of interaction, and this kind of contextualization is a basic and continuous aspect of the local practice of discourse. (2004, 149-150)

While Erickson is speaking through discursive identities, not assemblage, he outlines some of the many attractors positioned in social dimensions of human multiplicity, focusing on how they become relevant through practices of interlocutors in conversation. My project is likewise to be aware of how some dimensions are relevant to or accomplished in certain practices. Many of these dimensions can only tolerate a single attractor, or singularity, at a time – one cannot be simultaneously both bisexual and homosexual – but thinking through assemblage I reimagine these characteristics as emergent instead of fixed. The description is revised from 'being' to 'becoming', as each of these dimensions are conceived as vectors, with trajectory, speed, and rate of change. This woman's bisexuality, for example, is immanent, not universal or essential, but negotiated, along with the rest of these aspects, with respect to an attractor.

What might be called 'discursive identities' through hybridity appear in assemblage as material and expressive manifestations of singularity. DeLanda refers to singularities, or attractors, as topological features that focus trajectories and limit

difference in multiplicity, structuring a space of possibilities (2002, 36-37; 2006, 29-30). He links them conceptually to ideal-types as models of perfect entities in a system (2006, 30-31). Attractors both normalize and constrain: like gravity, they maintain a constantly negotiated relationship between entities, which can be played with but only exceeded through a change in state. Like ideal-types or prototypes (Lakoff 1987; Rosch 1978), attractors are never actualized, only infinitely approached in 'asymptotic stability' (DeLanda 2002, 32). This concept engages the centripetal force of categories (DiMaggio 1997; Edwards, 1991; Haslam *et al*. 2000; Smith 2005) and the differentiating force of boundaries (Barth,1969; Lamont and Molnar, 2002; Pachuki *et al*, 2007; Sollors 1986; Tilly, 2004; Vermeulen & Govers, 1994; Wimmer 2008; 2009) as part of a single action with multiple effects, instead of as polar opposites.

The entire complex of dimensions described above by Erickson, then, combine as an example of human social becoming in multiplicity:

> Multiplicities are, by design, *obscure and distinct*: the singularities which define a multiplicity come in sets, and these sets are not given all at once but are structured in such a way that they *progressively specify the nature of a multiplicity* as they unfold following recurrent sequences. (DeLanda 2002, 16, italics original).

Each dimension changes the shape of the multiplicity, both its actualized form and potential forms, through processes that are unique but interrelated and inseparable. Distinct from discursive or performative identities, singularities are produced through multiplicities and vice versa in a flat topological space, with neither pre-existing the other. No single change in trajectory can be attributed to a single attractor, but all work in relation with each other.

Hybridity, through this model, might be imagined as multiple singularities in a single system. Continuing the example demonstrated with Figure 6, it would mean a cluster with two focusing points – two singularities – making a ellipsoidal cloud shape. In short, becoming both 'Moroccan' and 'Dutch' seems mutually exclusive but is feasible as a single system of competing attractors. As 'Moroccanness' and 'Dutchness' are multidimensional entities, there are some aspects of them that are mutually exclusive, leading to the 'neither one, nor the other' conclusion of hybridity. Yet individuals do survive in multiplicity that is both 'Moroccan' and 'Dutch'. Framing this as assemblage rather than hybridity – as

many interacting parts rather that two incompatible essences – leads to more productive analysis of how such individuals produce a state of 'Moroccan/ Dutchness'.

3.3.2. Assemblage bodies: Beyond essences to intensive multiplicities

In order to speak about 'hybridity' as it takes place in (human) bodies, themselves an assemblage in assemblage with other entities, I develop here an approach to embodiment. Key to this understanding are two premises: first that bodies do not have 'identities', but are multiplicities; and second that bodies are intensive multiplicities, composed of entities cannot be separated without reverberating consequences to the whole system. The first premise points to how 'Moroccanness' is shaped through bodies and not on them, without essence. The second helps me to reframe a variety of perspectives on embodiment into assemblage by focusing on how bodies are able to be multiple and to reproduce, but not be divided into elements.

The first problem of identities against becomings was one that emerged from my data. Through the activities of my fieldwork, it became clear that 'Moroccanness' existed for participants in an interlocking of home, state borders, traditions, blood, bodies, soil, *place*, cars, sun, the road through Spain, euros and dirhams, going out and being on holiday with and without family. 'Moroccanness' touches on numerous aspects of social theory, including race, ethnicity, identity, migration, diaspora, transnationalism, tourism, leisure consumption, social class, economic power, globalization, gender, Islam, markets, heritage languages, language ideologies, etc., as well as multifaceted combinations between them. These aspects are all more and less than any single keyword, like 'nation' or 'ethnicity', rendering them unwieldy as bases for analysis.

Thinking through the possibilities of various approaches to this dynamic, and the problematic choice of privileging one or another as the primary explanatory concept, I returned to the materiality of my participants' experiences. Whatever the momentary or enduring forces at work, this dynamic of diasporic 'Moroccanness' emerges primarily through bodies, interacting with 'Moroccanness' as part of their materiality. Focusing on that materiality as emergent through interaction, with the

rest of these dynamics as manifestations, deviations, and iterations of this emergence, leads to the central theoretical framework of assemblage.

Assemblage is a move further away from essentialism than social constructionism, advocating the 'avoidance of the categories of typological thought: resemblance, identity, analogy and contradiction' (DeLanda, 2002, 177). Using these words and their derivatives assume 'identity' exists in singularity, whereas assemblage assumes everything becomes through complex, multidimensional interrelations of material and expressive qualities of actualized, unactualized, and virtual entities. 'Unlike essences which assume that matter is a passive receptacle for external forms, multiplicities are immanent to material processes, defining their spontaneous capacity to generate pattern without external intervention' (DeLanda 2002, 28). Again, Grosz describes this relationality more eloquently:

> In Deleuze and Guattari's work, subject and object can no longer be understood as discrete entitites or binary opposites. Things, material or psychical, can no longer be seen in terms of rigid boundaries, clear demarcations: nor, on an opposite track, can they be seen as inherently united, singular or holistic. Subject and object are series of flows, energies, movements, strata, segments, organs, intensities – fragments capable of being linked together or severed in potentially infinite ways other than those which congeal them into identities. Production consists of those processes which create linkages between fragments, fragments of bodies and fragments of objects. Assemblages or machines are heterogenous, disparate, discontinuous alignments or linkages brought together in conjunctions (x plus y plus z) or severed through disjunctions and breaks. (Grosz 1994, 167)

Aspects of this relational approach are common to a number of strains of research on human interaction, from Actor-Network theory (Latour 2005) to ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1984). While other theories might be applicable, assemblage has helped me to formulate an overarching perspective, to consider the entities in my data as both more and less than 'social'. Bodies in this framework are multiple (Mol 2002); entities themselves, fragments and fragmented, allowing me to consider how a way of walking, for example, is a separate material entity from the body that performs it. As Grosz describes above, assemblage concentrates on the products and remainders of practice as material consequences of relationality between fragments. It encourages conceiving of entities as inactive, incomplete or unknown before interaction focuses their energies – as multiplicities rather than identities.

The second premise, regarding what a body is, is not, could be, or is delimited or expected to be, falls within range of a variety of social scientific conversations. The most relevant topic in this debate is the role that bodies play as matter, with physical properties that are both fixed and malleable. Being simultaneously social and biological organisms, the dynamic relationship this creates between physical traits and hegemonic discourses have been a focal point of key work in studies on gender and race, trying to de-normalize discursive mappings onto physical traits (Butler 1993; Gilroy 2000; Hall, 1990). A side effect of this movement was a tendency towards de-biologizing groupings that might reference human biological characteristics, like sex or skin pigmentation, and redefining them as socially constructed, historically and culturally situated attributes: 'Indeed, this neglect of the body – its physical attributes and its feelings and desires – is partly because it has long been the most troublesome site for feminist theorists as thinking about bodies raises awkward questions about the significance of physical differences between women and men' (McDowell 1999, 36). More recently, the pendulum has begun to swing back, re-engaging biological forms while acknowledging their historical production and disavowing essentialism by interweaving the biological with the social (Grosz 1994; Shilling 2003; Saldanha 2006).

While it is inarguable that no attribute of a human body determines any aptitude, perspective, or orientation, there remains tension around the propensity for bodily characteristics to become deterministic, or for natural difference to be construed as essential[12]. A great wealth of social and geographical research explores this dynamic, of how bodies are categorized and performed in normative, silencing, or oppressive ways (Back and Solomos 2000; Hall and Bucholtz 1995; Mahtani, 2002; McDowell 1999; Skeggs 1997; 1999; 2004; Twine 1998). In corollary, however, it is futile to analyze the social actualization of certain perspectives without reflecting on the corporeality of the actors who embody them. As Alcoff writes, 'If race is a structure of contemporary perception, then it helps constitute the necessary background from which I know myself. It makes up a part of what appears to me as the natural setting of all my thoughts. It is the field, rather than that which stands out' (2006, 188). While essentialisms are untenable, they are

12. This propensity also applies to the emerging science of genetics – see El Haj, 2007.

also learned structures, both by those who apply them and those to whom they are applied, that become part of embodiment. In an assemblage perspective, the part these structures play in and through bodies is a property of their intensivity.

Imagining bodies as multiplicities leads to imagining the processes that form them as creating a recognizable whole out of successive groupings of parts. Becoming a whole with necessary parts makes bodies intensive. Whereas extensive structures have metric qualities making them divisible into parts that can stand alone, intensive structures progressively differentiate, so that individual parts are indivisible from the whole without intrinsically altering both (DeLanda 2002, 26-27). Intensive properties cannot add up; rather they average:

> This averaging operation is an objective operation, in the sense that placing into contact two bodies with different temperatures will trigger a spontaneous diffusion process which will equalize the two temperatures at some intermediate value. This capacity to spontaneously reach an average value explains why temperatures or pressures cannot be divided in extension. (2002, 60)

Thinking of bodies as both matter and 'discourse' – as material and expressive – requires thinking of them intensively, as processes that 'average' the influences with which they come into contact. Intensivity is produced both as a physical body and through forms of embodiment that body produces.

Seeing bodies as intensive multiplicities prompts approaching an idea like 'racialization' as itself an assemblage, always involving the material (fleshes, faces, places, etc.) and expressive (correctness of bodies and places, etc.) which themselves are multiplicities. Thus 'whiteness' and 'blackness' remain potent material and expressive influences – not as discourses on bodies, but as multiplicities that enter bodies and interact with them, changing the way attractors are understood and the way multiplicity/bodies operate around them:

> The "incitement to discourse" and the materialization of bodies in the world are both processes: they hence involve the negotiation, and re-negotiation of categories and norms that are never fully fixed in place, though at times it may feel as if they are (and the fact that it may feel this way is important, and the conditions of possibility for this need to be investigated). While "knowledges" of race are clearly always contested, and while the ways in which we encounter others as raced are never fully determined, our task is also to see the relationship between knowledge, and ways of inhabiting bodies and spaces, as a failed translation: there is always a gap, to be filled as it were, between how we construct the racial body, and how it is lived. (Ahmed 2002, 55)

The discursive move made here by Ahmed is inherent to the form of assemblage – that materialization of bodies is in process, that categories are not fixed, and that

the issue at hand is to discover what occupies the gap to make the body stable. '[T]he task of a materialist analysis of the social is to understand the stability of form against the dynamism of formation' (Anderson and Harrison 2010b, 19).

Understanding the seeming stability of the uncertain 'hybrid' body – a body relating to multiple singularities in a single dimension – means imagining how, for example, 'whiteness' and 'blackness' interact intensively in multiplicity. They may co-occupy a single dimension, but radiate into others through intensive processes, in the way a 'black' body might produce 'whiteness' as part of unified material and expressive practice of multiplicity. An assemblage reading of bodies reincorporates the material as indivisible from the expressive through intensive connectivity.

3.3.3. Complicating forces: Flatness, nonlinearity, unstable equilibrium, and virtuality

In a normalized pattern, no complicating factors disrupt the relationship between where a body is embedded and its ancestry, producing a normalized point cloud of the relationship between *descent* and *place* of like that in Figure 6. 'Hybrid' bodies in contexts of migration, however, are displaced elsewhere, rendering this relationship more complex. This displacement creates an ellipsoidal shape of diasporic Moroccanness, in response to multiple singularities that destabilize the relationship between *descent* and *place*. This subsection reviews how such complications take place in an intensive multiplicity of a body.

Intensivity of bodies refers to how they are both material and expressive, both physical and practiced, in ways that cannot be parsed out and separated. This nonmetric property means that entities of these intensive multiplicities interact in ordinal ways rather than numerical. Their differences are averaged and progressively changed, but not added or subtracted. They mark distance in a flat topological space through 'asymmetrical relations between abstract elements, relations like that of being in between two other elements' (DeLanda 2002, 73) rather than through measurable, Cartesian units. As DeLanda states, '[o]rdinal series...behave more like topological spaces, where we can rigorously establish that a point is nearby another, but not by exactly how much (given that their separation may be stretched or compressed)' (DeLanda, 2002, 74). This flat ontology (Marston *et al*. 2005; Jones *et al*. 2007) removes presuppositions of scalar relationships: 'we

discard the centring essentialism that infuses not only the up–down vertical imaginary but also the radiating (out from here) spatiality of horizontality' (Marston *et al*. 2005, 422). Instead, relationships are ordinal and measured by ordinal proximities and distances, in the way that network linkages are measured by steps taken to arrive to one node from another.

Ordinal progression in a flat topological space enables a change in perspective on a few key elements in diasporic belonging. First, this nonmetric perspective responds to calls for conceiving of simultaneity (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004) and time-space compression (Mountz and Wright 1996) in transnational contexts, in a way that privileges relational linkages over metric, measurable distance. Likewise, a flat ontology is relevant to sociolinguistics of migration by privileging generation as an ordinal relationship. Generations immediately following migration are more likely to maintain communicative fluency in their parents' language(s), while future generations are more likely to have proportionally lower competence levels, in response to their reduced exposure to those languages, whether or not their parents (post-migrant) explicitly try to teach them (Fishman 1991; Wei 1994).

Thinking about these ordinal progressions in a flat space also changes the way these progressions can be compared. One example is in the relative speeds of generational change in language use and in *descent*. When mobility provokes contact with other language systems, the distance between generations is stretched, but their ordinal relationship remains the same. In other words, the ordinal relationship of linguistic generations operates at a faster speed than the ordinal relationship of genetic generations. The temporal cycles enabling evolution in each dimension are vastly different, but often imagined to be related through direct causation, making an even, linear mapping of *descent* and linguistic practice. Assemblage disallows this ontology, configuring bodies as following nonlinear trajectories, wherein different dimensions of these bodies are subject to rules of intensive differentiation within a flat topological space.

Migratory mobilities (Canzler *et al*. 2008; Conradson and Latham 2005; Cresswell 2006; Gustafson 2008; Ohnmacht *et al*. 2009; Urry 2000) become a

trigger introducing other attractors that complicate the relationship between *descent* and *place*, increasing their tendency to create nonlinear effects.

> Much as the effects of genes on the bodily characteristics of plants and animals are a matter of probabilities (not linear causal determinisms) and that, therefore, in describing populations we are interested in the statistical distribution of the variation in these bodily properties, so the effects of socialization should always be pictured as variable and the proper object of study should be how this variation is distributed in a given population. (DeLanda 2006, 25)

DeLanda here refers to the fact that biological descent is not a deterministic process: reproduction does not create an exact linear result, rather a nonlinear result that is within a range of possible effects, including 'no effect'. This pattern is the same as a statistical bell curve representing a range of possible outcomes where some are more likely than others. The activity of nonlinear cause and effect reflects variations and probabilities, where some of the least probable outcomes become the most noticeable ones.

In her exposition on the paradoxical nature of diasporic belongings, Ang (2001) repeats the question that she is asked so often, but unable to answer simply: 'Where are you from?' For her the complication of the answer is redoubled by a long history of migration and colonization, shifting her vector of *place* through multiple attractors and changes of speed and trajectory. Yet her descent, similarly to Alcoff's, is seemingly indelibly marked through skin and phenotype that appear to tell a story of *place*.

> In this way, race operates differently from ethnic or cultural identities, which can be transcended, with enough effort. Inherent to the concept of race is the idea that it exists there on the body itself, not simply on its ornaments or in its behaviors. Races may have indeterminate borders, and some individuals may appear ambiguous, but many people believe that (a) there exists a fact of the matter about one's racial identity, usually determined by ancestry, and (b) that identity is discernible if one peers long enough at, or observes carefully enough, the person's physical features and practiced mannerisms. (Alcoff 2006, 196)

Like Ang, Alcoff's remarks reflect the way race, or *descent* is imagined to be linear and that linearity imagined to be visually perceivable, manifest in and through the body embedded in *place*. Yet in a context of migration that crosses oceans, trajectories of *place* between ancestors and descendants become nonlinear and complex, creating disjunctures and possibilities for new lineages of *descent*.

Whereas relations of 'blood' and 'soil' are often imagined to be strictly linear causalities, making future generations of a single pattern, diasporic populations demonstrate their potential for nonlinear causality. The nonlinear intersection of

descent and *place* make, in both Ang's and Alcoff's cases, a brown body noticeable and noticed in a place dominated by white bodies. They are noticed not because they are variations outside the range of possibility, but because they are variations that are relatively less probable. Their intensive bodies reflect deviations from the mean, from the imagined linear cause-and-effect outcome of bodies following lines of *descent* that remain fixed in *place*.

The movement that engenders diasporic variation is one that destabilizes the equilibrium between *descent* and *place*. Processes of deterritorialization, which destabilize both the equilibrium of *place* and the ordinal replication of genetic and linguistic expressive media that mark *descent*, open potential bifurcations for diasporic bodies to follow. These bifurcations should not be understood as divided 'identities', but as shifting equilibrium from unicentric to multicentric systems, connecting multiple attractors through entities that flow between them.

Systems that are close to equilibrium appear static and stable, even though they are in constant motion. Systems that are far from equilibrium as a perennial state demonstrate more variation, and provide the means to observe their complexity through their recurring, more dramatic movements. They exhibit dynamics of attraction towards previous states, other virtual states, and the emergent actualized state. As DeLanda states, 'to exhibit their full complexity nonlinear systems need to be driven away from equilibrium, or what amounts to the same thing, appropriately large differences in intensity need to be maintained by external constraints and not allowed to get cancelled or be made too small' (2002, 66). The system then becomes observable through the dynamics of regaining and maintaining equilibrium. The way equilibrium is managed reflects the interactions of attractors and multiplicities acting to structure and limit the system.

Processes of territorialization and deterritorialization exert force on the equilibrium of complex systems. Imagined spatially, territorializations are stabilizing processes, which 'define or sharpen the spatial boundaries of actual territories' (DeLanda 2006, 13), in whatever form they might take. In non-spatial iterations, territorializing processes 'increase the homogeneity of an assemblage, such as the sorting processes which exclude a certain category of people from membership of an organization, or the segregation processes which increase the

ethnic or racial homogeneity of a neighborhood' (ibid). Deterritorializing processes, therefore, counteract these by increasing internal heterogeneity and destabilizing boundaries. Migration is *ipso facto* a deterritorializing process, that brings along with it a destabilization of equilibrium by creating a connection between disparate attractors along dimensions of *descent* and *place*. This destabilized state becomes a source of activity towards maintaining equilibrium, in all of the communities affected – sending and receiving.

Envisioning the form of assemblage in nonlinear equilibrium means incorporating both its current state and its potential states as part of its dynamic of attraction. Imagining a diasporic system as a deterritorialized one, with multiple competing attractors, means that it is already a system in an unstable equilibrium. Adding to that, the current state made up of actualized trajectories represents a number of unactualized, virtual trajectories existing simultaneously:

> [T]he virtual of a physical system (a convection cell, an organism, a social formation) can be defined as the set of potential trajectories for change the system itself generates out of its internal composition and exchange with its changing surroundings. The virtual is as real as what is actually present, but only insofar as it has the capacity to become actual, insofar as it is pulling and pushing the actual towards becoming different. Virtual reality subsists "beneath" physical space and time; its spatiality is strictly unrepresentable. It might be called a parallel world, or it might be called "infinite," but it can be found nowhere else than here and now. The virtual changes (differentiates) in correspondence to the evolution of an actual system (differenciation) in which it is actualized. The virtual realm and physical space-time form an ontological circuit. (Saldanha 2007, 24)

As Saldanha states, the virtual exists simultaneously with the actual, as a potentially infinite set of unactualized trajectories. DeLanda gives the example of a fertilized egg becoming an organism: it has possibilities for developing forms, but the forms are not pre-existing or pre-determined, as there are many co-existing potentials along with actualized ones that are differentiated in the process of becoming (2002, 17). Multiplicities incorporate both the actualized and unactualized trajectories, so these diasporic bodies are traced with the virtual, unactualized vectors that link actual manifestations of *descent* and *place* to historical, imagined, and unactualized possibilities.

These unactualized trajectories have material and expressive traces. Saldanha writes about Fanon's infamous encounter with a child who recognizes his blackness:

> Bodies need to be appreciated as productive in their own right, just like words or money or architecture. Fanon's phenotype is not at all "performed" or "constituted" by the boy's exclamation. Phenotype is constituted instead by genetic endowments, environmental conditions, exercise, hormones, diet, disease, ageing, etc. What language does to phenotype – phenotype itself – is charge it, circumscribe what it is capable of doing in particular spaces. There was certainly real phenotypical difference before the exclamation, but it had no effect on the situation (yet). The exclamation brings out a latency, a latency Fanon knew was there, but had perhaps forgotten, looking absentmindedly for a seat. After the exclamation, Fanon's options are limited. Now, his phenotype demands active management. Now, his phenotype is alive, chaining him to the histories and geographies of race and colonialism. (Saldanha 2006, 12)

Saldanha's reflection orients towards phenotype phenomenologically, as a material entity that is embodied as much as it is perceived and constructed. He argues that Fanon's blackness existed, but did not become actualized until it was recognized by the boy. Though not deterministic, it is a virtuality in assemblage that comes to be actualized in interaction. Destabilizing processes – like the potential to come in contact with this boy who, not recognizing its ordinariness to Fanon, makes 'blackness' relevant – cause shifts in equilibrium and increase the potential of virtual states to become actualized.

These complicating forces describe ways that multiplicity can become more complex than the image in Figure 6. Most systems diverge from a strictly normal distribution in response to forces that decrease homogeneity, like deterritorialization, or by incorporating paths not followed, offered through virtuality. These forces become incorporated into diasporic systems through the fact of migration, rendering what would be linear *descent* embedded in *place* as a multicentric multiplicity, expending some energy to maintain equilibrium.

3.3.4. Transforming hybridity in assemblage

Returning to the above discussion of 'hybridity', it can now be framed through an assemblage perspective. Bodies that are labeled as 'hybrid' (in contexts of migration) violate a premise of linearity implied by ideas of *descent* and its intensive, presumed linear connection to *place*. Descent in a human dimension implies genetic and linguistic multiplicities enacting variable replication, which 'are capable of guiding change over time, allowing the weight of the past to impinge on the present' (DeLanda 2006, 44-45), in a near-to-equilibric, apparently linear state. Deterritorializing forces, like migratory or post-colonial mobilities, perturb this state

of equilibrium and make possible interactions with new attractors, which may take many generations to become stable.

Descent and *place* become metaphors acting in relation to each other as an attractor for the idea of genetic and linguistic (along with cultural and religious) replication as a linear trajectory. Along with ideas of genetic linearity, linguistic assemblages metonymically occupy physical territories, in the way that ideologies of right and wrong uses of language become deterministic of belonging in *place* along multiple dimensions of 'identity' (Bauman 2003; Heller 2006; Kroskrity 2000; Schieffelin *et al*. 1998; Suleiman 2003). These linear imaginings assume that multiple attractors cannot exert force in these dimensions, which would destabilize a linear generational equilibrium recreating 'Moroccanness'. Being born with Moroccan genes should then lead to being 'Moroccan' in all the ways implied by linearity: reproducing Moroccan traditions, languages, attitudes, and perspectives as they are practiced in Morocco. Mobilities destabilize this assemblage, adding attractors and shifting equilibrium so that new virtualities appear and are actualized. Yet, this happens in the space of a generation – one ordinal step – leaving multiple attractors in competition over trajectories of *descent* and *place* in an equilibrium that is far from stable.

'Muslimness', as a exemplar fragment of 'Moroccanness', can only be traced in relation to the dimensions with which it intersects: it is a different attractor in relation to Morocco or France, to men or women, or to home and outside the home. Its variations are mapped in relation to mobilities of entities that move within and around these spaces, both bodies – gendered, phenotyped and classed – and ideas, objects and virtualities. Existing work discussing interactions between gender and Islam often focuses on moral geographies that intersect with women and religiously-shaped safety or danger related to public and private spheres (Freeman 2005; Mernissi 1987; Metcalf 1996; Obermeyer 2000; Sadiqi 2003; Silvey 2005; 2007), or with men and perceptions of security in spaces dominated by non-Muslim ideologies (Guénif Souilamas 2002; Guénif Souilamas and Mace 2006; Hopkins 2003). The attractor of 'Muslimness' operates therefore broadly beyond religion by intersecting with many other dimensions and processes. 'Muslimness', in other words, is site-specific on multiple levels, in ways that emerge through how

individuals identify, define and practice it as much as by how it is passed through ordinal linkages (generations, interlocutors), repeated and differentiated in each ordinal step.

As Potter and Phillips describe earlier in this section (3.3.1), their diasporic participants are both Bajan and British, both black and white, creating conditions for more variation, as attractors create oppositions to one another.

> A system with multiple attractors, in short, has a greater capacity to express or reveal the virtual. But this expressive capacity will depend, in turn, on the thermodynamic 'zone of intensity' in which the system operates: at low intensities (near equilibrium) a nonlinear system will in effect be linearized, that is, its potential complex behaviour will not be revealed. This procedure has, in fact, become routine in physics whenever troublesome nonlinear effects need to be eliminated: one simply studies the system in question at very low intensity values for the trouble-making variable. However, by following procedures like this and systematically neglecting the high intensity values at which nonlinear effects are fully expressed, physicists promote an illusion which is originally objective but which now becomes subjectively amplified. On the other hand, studying systems which are both nonlinear and nonequilibrium, systems where the objective illusion is at it weakest, opens up windows onto the virtual.(DeLanda 2002, 67)

'Hybridized' individuals, like the Bajan-Brits evoked by Potter and Phillips, represent a system at high intensity values, reacting to internal and external processes, revealing more complexity through instability. Such processes include territorializing ones, like structures of nation-state as being fixed in *place* and defined through 'identities', as much as deterritorializing ones, like their own potential for moving and communicating between states as a dual representative. 'Hybridity' therefore emerges not out of individuals being 'in-between' but from their encounters with other multiplicities in assemblage, like 'state' or 'language', which engender processes of deterritorialization and encourage nonlinear trajectories. Reading hybridity as nonlinearity instead of liminality, as actualizing a one of many possible virtualities because of new combinations of interactions, rather than hanging uncertainly between two fixed points, provides an ontological foundation to the combinative productivity for which defenders of diasporic hybridity argue (Kalra *et al*. 2005; Werbner 2002).

3.4. Mobilities and bodies

As Moroccan bodies living on European soil, a specific cyclical, annual trajectory of movement between Moroccan homes and European homes has been

established among families and communities of participants in this research. Other diasporic mobilities of return might be hindered by distance, disaster, war or politics (Ang 2001; Cohen 1997; Gilroy 1993; Glick Schiller and Fouron 2001), but Moroccans in Europe have had relatively smooth paths from home to home over most of the forty years since they were invited into Europe as guestworkers. This smoothness is, however, unidirectional and constrained. Borders are porous only for holders of certain passports or tightly controlled visas (Kearney 2004; Silvey *et al*. 2008). They are traversable only for those with the economic means to travel (Conway and Potter 2007; Duval 2003; Stephenson 2002). What was initiated as migratory mobility has developed into speeds and frictions that are enabled, encouraged, prevented or constrained by social dimensions as much as by material resources (Canzler *et al*. 2008; Silvey *et al*. 2008; Uteng 2006; Uteng and Cresswell 2008). The desire to visit Morocco is framed through the relationship between *descent* and *place* as an attraction towards 'Moroccanness', but the ability to go is enmeshed in other dimensions, like passports, work contracts and holiday time off, embedded in 'Europeanness'.

In other research, this apparent duality might be described as a postcolonial hybridity (Bhabha 1994), postcolonial strangeness (Ahmed 2000), or a performance of race (Ahmed 1998; 1999; Mahtani 2002), of gendered religion (Silvey 2007; Mohammed 1999; 2005) or class (Skeggs 1997; 2004). By basing my analysis in assemblage, I characterize this as an interactive moment, where all dimensions are potentially participating but some are more relevant than others. The practices of mobility these individuals engage in reflect their state of equilibrium in multiplicity, interacting with attractors of 'Europeanness' and 'Moroccannes' that engage some dimensions in striking ways and other dimensions very little. My analysis follows lines of charged intersections, where the activity around 'being-European' and 'being-Moroccan' is particularly energetic.

These dimensions come to be cogent to this research through bodies. Bodies come into contact with one another and are recognized through specific dimensions, like 'passport holder' with 'border agent', 'diasporic visitor' and 'gaze of local residents', or as 'colonized' and 'colonizer':

> We can understand that, in many respects, the emigrant looks in a way like someone who was colonized at the last moment, like a *colonisé* who has outlived a colonization from which he cannot liberate himself, like a

> postcolonial *colonisé* and therefore someone who wants to be colonized (because he wants to remain an emigrant)...And it is significant that the criticisms made of emigration, and, by that very fact, of emigrants, are directed mainly and most violently against the female emigrant population and, more specifically, women's bodies. Criticisms are made of the way they dress, of their corporeal *hexis*, their ways of holding themselves, speaking and behaving, especially in public – in other words, their physical deportment and comportment. (Sayad 2004, 117)

Bodies become visible through diverse material and expressive manifestations that become integrated into the attractive force of singularities. Criticisms are made, perhaps not verbally but through behaviors, reactions, interactions and commentaries after the fact. They might not be made by a family member about another family member, with whom they have regular remote contact facilitated by mobilizing technologies. Yet, they might be made by the resident family member about others who arrive in the homeland, wearing, being and doing things that do not fit expectations of 'Moroccanness' across multiple dimensions. While Sayad identifies women's bodies as sites of specific critique, in his case in terms of migrants returning to visit Algeria from France, he does not specify what about their deportment makes it that of the colonisé. Yet something material about these bodies make them recognizably 'other', which is relevant because their *descent* implies that they should be 'same'.

Within the holiday timespace enabled by Moroccan diasporic mobilities, the data for this research emerge from practices that are made relevant because of these mobilities, and located in and between the bodies at its focus. The framing of this as empirical research necessitates dividing embodied practices into two parameters: communication and consumption. Each of these is central to the analysis, but not as entirely distinct from the other as this semantic separation would suggest. Division for the purposes of analysis is prompted by their individual lines of theoretical development, which will be discussed below. However, in an assemblage framework they cannot be considered independent of one another. Rather, as components of what I call *embodimentality*, they are mutually constituted and mutually indicative, particularly because they are both intensely implicated in the expressive and material production of human bodies in relation to an attractor like 'Moroccanness'. In order to imagine how 'Moroccanness' is recomposed and rearticulated through embodimentality, I draw upon theories of

communicative practices through sociolinguistics and theories of consumption practices through geography as cooperative and intersecting manifestations in and through bodies.

3.4.1. Embodimentality: Materiality of communication and habit

My conceptualization of embodimentality begins with Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*. *Habitus* incorporates bodies with practices (Bourdieu 1977), consumption habits (Bourdieu 1984), and communicative habits (Bourdieu 1991) as a single organism. Most often defined as a set of dispositions that function as an 'organizing mechanism' (Skeggs 2004, 22), *habitus* reflects the 'internalisation of the social order, which in turn reproduces the social order' (Cresswell 2002, 380), or Bourdieu's notion of practical sense, 'proposing that an individual's very body schema (the actor's awareness of the topographical structure of their body, its parts, movements and limits; Schilder, 1935) is constituted by the class-based conditions of their existence' (Shilling 2004, 475). *Habitus* brings attention to the way the social is embodied and habituated, to the point that it is unquestioned and difficult to perceive and explain.

These definitions reflect the potential as well as the problems of using *habitus* in this analysis. Bourdieu's formulation of habitus reflects primarily how diverse members of a class can corporeally produce that class in concert, without premeditiation; in fact, he refers to it as 'the class *habitus*' (1977, 83), relating it as a singular, universal set of 'material conditions of life' (ibid, 63) applicable to a classed group. Bourdieu continued to explore this concept in relation to other ways he developed of imagining practice and the social (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), but its usage has stagnated on his dimension of interest – class. While it may have been intended as a productive encoding of bodily practice counterposing structuring structures, it has been repeated and interpreted as an equally structuring and structured concept in class-specific ways, describing embodiment that is more receptive than interactive, more 'being' than 'becoming'.

Imagining human bodies as multiplicities requires vocabulary to describe bodies as habituated and simultaneously emergent – both '*habitus*' and 'performative' (Butler 1993) – but not externally controlled through structures or discourses. These bodies are intensive; they are structures and discourses, as much

as they are innovation and contestation. Most importantly, the are material as well as expressive; they are assemblages of corporeal fragments and ideological fragments with different vectors of trajectory, speed and rate of change. Like Grosz, I am in search of:

> some kind of understanding of embodied subjectivity, of psychical corporeality, needs to be developed...notions which see human materiality in continuity with organic and inorganic matter but also at odds with other forms of matter, which see animate materiality and the materiality of language in interaction, which make possible a materialism beyond physicalism (i.e., the belief that reality can be explained in terms of the laws, principles, and terms of physics), a materialism that questions physicalism, that reorients physics itself. (1994, 22)

Her juxtaposition of terms points to the problem of 'embodied' and 'corporeal' as they are currently used as synonyms with slight contextual variations, both signifying either the latent, material body or the productive, communicative body. This is one and the same body; it cannot be divided. This intensive combination makes these processes more than the sum of their parts, in the sense that Grosz suggests of reorienting physicalism, to produce 'embodied subjectivity' I call *embodimentality*.

Part of the inception of embodimentality is my analytical need for a way to discuss the action and inaction of human bodies in a neutral way, without implicating any specific dimension of multiplicity, like class. What Bourdieu describes as 'bodily *hexis*' – 'a political mythology realized, em-bodied, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable way of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking' (1990, 69-70, italics original) – is possibly closer to Mauss's (unclassed) definition of *habitus* as the learned 'body techniques' linked to education, generation and sex (Mauss 1950). Bourdieu does not implicate *hexis* in class dynamics, but in social circumstances more broadly:

> The child imitates not "models" but other people's actions. Body *hexis* speaks directly to the motor function, in the form of a pattern of postures that is both individual and systematic, because linked to a whole system of techniques involving the body and tools, and charged with a host of social meanings and values: in all societies, children are particularly attentive to the gestures and postures which, in their eyes, express everything that goes to make an accomplished adult - a way of walking, a tilt of the head, facial expressions, ways of sitting and using implements, always associated with a tone of voice, a style of speech, and (how could it be otherwise?) a certain subjective experience. (1977, 87)

Hexis emphasizes the invisible potency of embodied practices as kinetic, gestural, expressive poses and movements, 'able to pass from practice to practice without

going through discourse or consciousness' (ibid). McDowell picks up *hexis* in spatial terms as 'different ways individuals and groups have of bearing their bodies, presenting them to others, moving or making space for their bodies' (1999, 41). Following both Bourdieu and McDowell, as well as Noble & Watkins (2003) and Shilling (2003) who invoke *hexis* in the context of sports activity, the term describes these forms of embodiment as unique to certain groups, encoded, recognizable and significant, but not in any more specific imagination than 'bodily bearing' or mimetic inculcation of movement.

Goffman, on the other hand, incorporates this form as a part of human communicative capacity:

> Although an individual can stop talking, he cannot stop communicating through the body idiom; he must say either the right thing or the wrong thing. He cannot say nothing. Paradoxically, the way in which he can give the least amount of information about himself – although this is still appreciable – is to fit in and act as persons of his kind are expected to act. (Goffman 1966, 35)

This insight encapsulates the rightly labeled paradox of bodies: they communicate with or without any agentive action on the part of their owners. Specifically, they communicate something that is either 'right or wrong' in terms of a 'person of his kind' (sic) – implying succinctly that the material presentation of self is an integral part of the linguistic performance of self, which is both visual and auditory.

In the scope of this project, I am not interested in dissecting the features or practices of *hexis* into their individual significances. Rather, I want to reintegrate the fact of *hexis* – that these are bodies consuming and communicating – and incorporate it as part of the embodimentality of participants. Their physical presence in the world, which can be visibly recognized and read as embedded in emergent categories, includes attributes like 'phenotype' but is also more than that. Their bodies are communicating something, producing *hexis* in interaction with other entities in their environments, but they themselves are not necessarily aware of its activity or in control of its effects. *Hexis*, therefore, appears in my analyses through how it is made relevant in interaction, or how DVs manage to act or not like 'persons of their kind' are expected to act.

Embodimentality, the way I want to operationalize it, incorporates *hexis* along with linguistic practice and consumption practice in integrated multiplicity. It indicates the ways material bodies communicate without intention, as described by

Goffman, but also the ways that expressive forms (like practices of communication and consumption) are material, created by and emanating from physical bodies. Embodimentality provides a standpoint from which to consider how bodies, as intensive, material and expressive multiplicities, are nodes of circulation for affects, discourses, fields, groups, communities and categories, incorporating and divesting qualities while remaining the same entity. It points to how bodies can seem solid and unchanging but be porous and malleable.

Within embodimentality, I use *hexis* as an analytic means of describing how diasporic bodies engage in practices of communication and consumption that emerge as an assemblage of diasporic 'Moroccanness'. *Hexis* combines with linguistic habits or with consumption habits through ways that bodies are 'communicating without intention' or consuming by being present in some places and not others. In the remainder of this chapter I explore how embodimentality can be deployed in relation to existing dialogues of communication and consumption, and how these forms combine to create assemblages integrating these bodies.

3.4.2. Communicative practices

Communicative practice, both verbal and non-verbal forms, is an inherently social deployment of learned habits that structure conversation in ways that are usually unrecognized by participants (Erickson 2004; Goffman 1971; 1974; 1981; 1982; Gumperz 1982; Sacks 1998). This notion sets apart 'language' as a grammatical structure from 'communication', in a way that is foundational to the field of sociolinguistics (Hymes 1972). The social properties of language are not restricted to purely communicative goals: linguistic practices have symbolic, affective, and tangible impacts that act in ways beyond the scope of the 'message' of an utterance (Austin 1962).

Yet languages, as one of the substances with which communicative practices are accomplished, have indexical relationships to places and lineages of practitioners that exceed their quotidian frames of use. They are often codified in institutional forms making some linguistic or communicative production more valued than others in that they are legitimated through state- or nation-based structures (Bourdieu 1991; Gal 1989) and hegemonic force (Woolard 1985). The Herderian synonymity of 'nation' or 'state' with 'language' reinforces this ideology

and the corollary image that each communicator-citizen is equally proficient in reading, writing, speaking and hearing the 'native' language of the nation (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Héran *et al*. 2002; Housley and Hester 2002). Empirical research demonstrates otherwise: the production of communicative practice in everyday situations involves both codification and creativity. Many researchers document that speakers have the capacity to vary their practices, where different kinds of variation can signal adherence to or distancing from markers of class, racial, ethnic, gender, and any other aspect of identity (Cameron 1995; Duranti and Goodwin 1992; Eckert 2000; Hall and Bucholtz 1995; Labov 1966; Milroy 1980; Schieffelin *et al*. 1998). In short, communication is usually based on common systems of form, but incorporates innovation and flexibility to associate or disassociate oneself from attributes that linguistic elements can be used to symbolize.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) provide an intriguing example of how this flexibility might be imagined to shape sameness and difference through their exploration of linguistic practice in the Caribbean. The book discusses a comprehensive research project on linguistic variation in creole and pidgin contexts (where two or more different languages are in prolonged contact, leading to the development of new mixed varieties), with a goal of finding the systematicity in variation amongst and between closely linked groups. Their conclusions resonate with the dynamics of assemblage described above.

The authors start from the commonly held viewpoint that linguistic variation is a sign of social difference, correlating with social factors within and between communities. In contrast to this research premise, Le Page and Tabouret Keller come to view 'variation in linguistic behavior as the norm, [approach] language as essentially idiosyncratic, and [seek] to throw some light upon the ways in which such concepts as "a language" and "a group or community" come into being through acts of identity which people make within themselves and with each other' (1985, 2). Their data demonstrate the myriad characteristics in individual and in broader histories that influence linguistic expression, which are not reducible to participation in one community or another amongst the complexity of potential linguistic communities. 'Their cultural gravitational forces operate in many

directions; each of them occupies an individual position, and yet they give evidence of sharing various loyalties and hatreds and alliances and identities within many different spheres' (ibid, 175).

In culmination, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller propose a multi-dimensional model of linguistic 'acts of identity'. All such acts are relational and interactional, becoming focussed – more regular or habitual – around points of commonality, where linguistic behavior is reinforced, and diffuse – more variable – when modifying behavior in response to others or at the fringe of a group (ibid, 181). Their model is constrained by the centrality of groups as desirable for identification, accessible, and encouraging of membership, creating a cloud of participation not unlike the image in Figure 6. They dispose of labels like 'ethnicity', which in communities of such intense mixture comes to have very little meaning in relation to linguistic codes, and consider the way groups become stronger or disband through processes of reinforcement and differentiation.

The key aspect of the 'acts of identity' model that, like assemblage, distinguishes it from notions of linear models of identity as essence is the fact that it is constructed as continually dynamic and interactive – as acts of focussing and diffusion (ibid, 200-202). This addresses one of the paradoxical aspects, according to Jones (2009), of using categories as research tools: 'when we are trying to think of the boundaries between categories as open and porous – which, intellectually, we know they are – we tend cognitively to understand categories as closed and bounded containers' (179). Le Page and Tabouret-Keller instead come to the conclusion that the emergence of communities as 'ethnicities' constitutes their research, as categorizing devices that have a central tendency and blurry edges that occasionally become distinct and divisive.

Yet their work, as in the majority of work on how linguistic communities come to exist, focuses on linguistic production in a seemingly disembodied way:

> In an effort to escape biological essentialism, sociolinguists have, I fear, preferred to act as if individuals do not have bodies. We claim to wish to understand the social construction of language, sex, and gender, yet seem embarrassed by the fact that speech is necessarily embodied, ultimately theorizing as if bodies don't and can't matter. (Walters 1999, 202)

Part of this purposeful 'blindness' is the complexity of linguistic analysis involving so many dimensions of activity – layers of linguistic genres, registers, codes and

functionalities alongside spatial proximity, gesture, gaze and facial expression, to name a few. Limiting communicative analysis to purely audible factors presents a rich palette already, however partial. Bodies are usually incorporated through ethnographic description, in general terms – gender, age, ethnicity, role in context. Research that incorporates visual layers of interaction (Farnell 2000; Kendon 2004; Wolputte 2004) generally focuses on the dynamics of embodied communication – how interactants produce conversational space as part of their communicative resources (Goodwin 2000; Mondada 2009) – and not on the specific bodies themselves as part of the history and trajectory of the interaction.

Using embodimentality, I want to integrate the bodies of participants as material presences in interaction. As much as speakers can change communication to access different attractors, as Le Page and Tabouret-Keller described, they are limited by material bodies. Their bodies communicate without speaking (Goffman, cited above) and become inculcated with habits – from habitual gestures and practices of gaze to habitual capacities to make certain sounds with one's vocal equipment and not others. Through repetition, communicative practices become incorporated into the body in material ways, creating *hexis*, or learned habits of the body, that follow certain forms and constrain others.

3.4.3. Consumption practices

Running parallel to and intermingled with communicative practices are what I am grouping together as consumption practices for the purpose of this project. These can be defined through the literature about leisure activities, specifically lifestyle choices (Miller 1995b; Shields 1992), geographies of consumption (Bell and Valentine 1997; Crang and Malbon 1996; Gregson *et al*. 2000; Mansvelt 2005), or in relation to tourism as a consumption practice (Craik 1997; Urry 1995). These practices are made relevant to my research much in the same way that communicative practice becomes relevant: through the intersection of local practices of consumption and diasporic practices of consumption that emerge as distinguishing attractors of 'Europeanness' and 'Moroccanness' during the holiday.

Residues and traces of individual mobilities connect colonization, diasporic return, and consumer practices between Morocco and Europe. Advanced capitalist, more particularly 'French', modes of consumption maintain status in Morocco as

the goal of progress, or the standard by which to judge consumption activity embodied by elite consumers there (Davis-Taïeb 1998). Directionalities and flows of mobility maintain and encourage this perspective, in that migrants seek financial success abroad (Hamdouch *et al*. 2000) and European (and other foreign) visitors demonstrate their economic power as tourists in Morocco (Wagner 2004). These layers feed back into the way diasporic visitors engage with their surroundings while on holiday, and the way that they are regarded as being, representing and reflecting European-like practices of consumption there. Practices that adhere to this formulation range from purposeful and conscious tourism consumption to informally 'going out'.

Tourism and 'the tourist' have been constructed along different lines of central logic, but with a uniting thread: that by bringing individuals into closer proximity, the act of traveling in order to experience another place generates a social distance between the travelers and the 'locals' (Bruner 2005; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Rojek and Urry 1997; Sheller and Urry 2004). This distanciation has been analyzed as a configuration of authenticity (MacCannell 1973), as a enactment of gaze reflecting modern separations between work and leisure (Urry 1990), and as the performance of host and guest relations on a grander scale of consumption (Smith 1977). Whereas at a distance potential tourists enact gazes and perceptions of Others amongst themselves, in proximity their perspectives become actualized and operationalized. Tourists expect to find spaces that reflect the images and representations that drew them to visit a place, both in physical demeanor and in their exchanges with 'locals'. 'Locals' expect various kinds of tourists to follow scripted performances (Coleman and Crang 2002) that mark them as strangers and constitute their experience of the place. To be a 'tourist' requires a certain amount of detachment from the destination; to 'consume' a place implies a lack of intimate knowledge of it.

Within tourism studies, the presumed passivity of the disempowered local community in producing their own image for consumption has been repeatedly refuted. Where once tourism was seen as a force that participates in 'freezing' cultural identities into packageable entities (for discussion see Ateljevič and Doorne 2003; Meethan 2001; Shepherd 2002) and training service workers to produce their

interactions for the consuming public (Crang 1997; Hochschild 1983), more recent approaches recognize the participation of locals in the process of producing culture for tourists, and the ways in which that process becomes a kind of cultural development in itself. According to Franklin and Crang:

> Scrupulous studies have suggested that while tourism does very often produce undesirable effects, it is not enough to see that "cultural changes arising from tourism are produced by the intrusion of a superior sociocultural system in a supposedly weaker receiving milieu" (Picard, 1996:108). Touristic culture is more than the physical travel, it is the preparation of people to see other places as objects of tourism, and the preparation of those people and places to be seen. (2001, 10)

Tourists interact with this dynamic by visiting with the intent to consume, knowing in advance what sights or commodities are intrinsic to the consumption experience of particular spaces (MacCannell 1999). The tourist experience, then, is characterized as being produced following scripts by all parties, from the 'local' embodying locality to the 'tourist' embodying touristic consumption.

This phenomenon is particular apparent in a place like Morocco, where tourism practices adhere to models of 'third world' or 'ethnic' tourism (Van den Berghe 1994; Berriane 1999). Here, as in similar locations, tourist visitors are most often from higher income countries, and their expectations of the place include a certain amount of exoticism and Otherness (Minca and Oakes 2006) mixed with leisure consumption (Crouch 1999) at a lower price than can be found at home. This perspective, at least in the case of Morocco, is not random: the first French Protectorate governor, Lyautey, began development of Marrakech (and other cities) as luxury leisure resorts for French visitors early in the twentieth century (Stafford and Bélanger 1996, 33). It has been reinforced by literary and artistic images that perpetuate Orientalist ideologies about Morocco (Bertolucci 1990; Bowles 1949). Such images often encourage tourists to collect experiences of a place that are stereotypical, seen to be essential stock of cultural capital gathered to prove that one has correctly 'done' the place (Coleman and Crang 2002). Diasporic visitors are not immune to these images, nor to the pursuit of collecting experiences of the place. Yet their relationship with the place is not the same detached stance as the archetypal tourist, which gives the acts of 'collecting' and consuming a different timbre.

In relation to diasporic tourism consumption, studies in Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) tourism explore the practices and impacts of those who are grouped outside of the classic 'tourist' prototype, who undertake the voyage in the context of visiting a person or persons as well as the place (Coles and Timothy 2004; Hollinshead 2004; Duval 2003). Their touristic visitation is distinct from, but sometimes related to, an enactment of diasporic return (Ali and Holden 2006; Butler 2003; Conway *et al*. 2009). Some contend that these visits are a means of cementing family links and increasing social capital with reference to family (Duval 2004a; Duval 2004b; Nguyen and King 2004). Family interactions are a focal point of the visit, but many of the activities engaged in are not exclusively family-oriented (Feng and Page 2000). Research shows that visitors are also consumers, and in particular ways that may differ from other tourists, but adhere to a touristic logic of consumption of leisure spaces, cultural spaces and other non-essential purchases (Duval 2003, 273). Urry (1994) characterizes this distance as 'consumer citizenship', extending the right of unimpeded mobility to those who can purchase and consume. In fact, these acts of consumption refract DVs' dual engagement with the place, as both (diasporic) members of the community whose mobility is unimpeded there and as (diasporic) strangers whose economic power distinguishes them from the local community.

In a less thoroughly examined but equally important realm, DV practices of leisure consumption intersect with research about leisure geographies in non-touristic circumstances of 'going out' or playscapes. In geography literature, these are mostly contextualized in terms of urban dynamics, particularly in relation to safety and danger of nighttime landscapes (Chatterton and Hollands 2002; Hubbard 2005). Arguably some literature on automobilities links in to these as expressive of fetishized mobile freedom related to the affect of these playscapes (Featherstone *et al*. 2005; Sheller 2004). Malbon's definition of 'experiential consuming' (1999, 20) of leisure activities, as 'conceiving of consumption as a *process* of consuming in which the consumers are actively *performing* their involvement across time and spaces, and through which aspects of both their identities and identifications are concurrently constructed, transformed and expressed' (ibid, 29; italics original), acts as an apt description across these multiple, indistinct categorizations of

consumption practice. This could include, therefore, not just the excitement of 'going out' but the lack of it, the boredom (Anderson 2004) or the ordinariness of spending time in certain kinds of leisure consumption environments, like cafés (Latham 2006; Laurier and Philo 2006).

In this project, therefore, focus is not on touristic consumption per se, nor on nighttime playscapes, nor automobility uniquely, but the intersection of all of these as leisure consumption practice through embodimentality. This parameter of practices locates bodies in public space through leisure consumption choices – the activities, sites, scenes, or spaces in which individuals choose to participate as consumers of 'identities'. They are located in these spaces through a framework of embodimentality, where bodies both participate in and compose the spaces in which they are present (and absent). I contend that these practices reflect on dimensions of 'Moroccanness' in similar, complementary and distinct ways as communicative practices. In combination, these two interrelated frameworks enable me to discuss a range of moments of encounter and interaction from the data through a variety of lenses.

3.4.4. Viscosity: Embodimentality in the collective

Conceiving of these diasporic 'Moroccan' bodies as multiplicities, it follows that they are also components in assemblage. Focusing on each individual as part of a larger collective body recalls the earlier discussion of nonlinear causality (3.3.3) and the way the point cloud creates a statistically normal grouping. The emergent activity of these groupings is not unlike that of markets, with a similar functional potential to engender collective action. Through my analysis of their practices, I discovered a need for a means to describe how this collectivity was practiced as an emergent form, reflected in the way DVs' embodied practices exceeded individual bodies to become an emergent group moving in concert, through *viscosity*.

I borrow viscosity as a term from Saldanha's (2008) 'political geographies of many bodies', in which he uses it to describe how collectivities are more than the sum of their parts. Thinking in terms of markets and their emergent behavior – both linear and nonlinear, rational and contingent – de-emphasizes the individual as an

actor in favor of collectivities of individuals. Saldanha's discussion reflects this attitude, inserting viscosity as something between agency and structure:

> This embodied perspective is meant to depart from an individualist and mentalist way of understanding citizenship, political mobilization and consumerism. While sensory perception and bodily location have been extensively conceptualized by humanistic geographers and feminists, what happens when many bodies come together as bodies – viscosity – has escaped attention... Viscosity refers to this dynamic emergence, at scales from the street to the planet, of collectivities of people based on attributes like sex, skin colour, nationality, economic power or fear. That these attributes should be seen as corporeal, not simply psychological, goes a long way to explaining what is meant by viscosity. (2008, 324)

While the actions of many bodies are not 'individualist and mentalist', they require the agency of many individuals; yet neither are they structurally deterministic of the way individuals may choose to act. Instead, this approach reflects the tendency for individuals to act with reference to others as much as they do with reference to abstract regulating organizations like the 'state' – which, like markets, are actualized through enforcement enacted by individuals. Saldanha borrows the notion of viscosity from biology in order to materialize this concept, through the way entities tend to stick together and collect with like entities, while separating themselves from others.

Much in the same vein as analysis of 'markets', which are inevitably composed of human actors but referred to as if they operated independently, this aspect of assemblage bridges the distance between choice as an individual act and choice as the work of social forces in collectivity, exemplified through *habitus* (Bourdieu 1984). It approaches the 'structure' of structure/agency as malleable, chaotic and complex – a nonlinear virtual topological space, where bodies interact, react and emerge in a predictable range for the collectivity but unpredictable for the individual.

One key distinction between Bourdieu's formulation of these social forces and that of assemblage is the problematic focus on a state-based source of legitimacy. His treatment of linguistic markets (Bourdieu 1991), on the other hand, is more constructive as a means of imagining force as emergent rather than agentive. Bourdieu considers these markets as legitimizing forces (or territorializing processes) that value and encourage certain lines of emergence while disregarding and devaluing others. Markets are often purportedly organized by a state or a

governing force – Bourdieu often characterizes them that way himself – but they are not dependent on rule-making bodies. Preceding purposeful structuring by governing bodies, markets are emergent and complex interactions of actors seeking and constraints restricting them.

Saldanha's formulation as well as Bourdieu's resonate with ideas of statistical groupings and nonlinear causality explored earlier in this chapter. Each participant in this research is both an entity and a fragment composing a collectivity in multiplicity. Discussing cell division as an example of collectivity, DeLanda describes how activity of the cells in collective – the division, births and deaths – create a 'nonlinear feedback relation' that builds and maintains consistent spatial forms in an anexact yet rigorous style, with 'topological exactitude' (2002, 53-4).

> within any one neighborhood, the exact location of a cell is immaterial as long as there are sufficiently many cells with a shared history located nearby. Similarly, the exact number of neighbors is not important and, at any rate, it is always subject to statistical fluctuations. What is important are the local, adhesive interactions between cells (or between cells and their extra-cellular matrix during migration), interactions which are typically both nonlinear (small changes may lead to large consequences) and statistical. (2002, 52)

This activity may be chaotic, but it is not random: while cause and effect for an individual entity may seem unrelated, perceived through the collectivity it will adhere to a realm of possible outcomes. The actions of multiplicities in assemblage are not imagined in terms of a single exemplary but in terms of the behavior of the collectivity. They are mapped to a flat topological space, reflecting a relationship with other entities in proximity. This mapping brings attention to the events that instigate emergent interactions between entities with shared histories and similar trajectories, in their relationship to one another as a collective.

This focus on collective causality runs counter to the idea of agency as an individual, disallowing decision-making processes that rely on relations of interiority, or the notion of an internalized, rational decision-making entity. Yet, the structure of social assemblage does allow for a notion resembling individual social agency – as a component in the assemblage like any other. Agency is part of what DeLanda considers the special expressive potential of social assemblage, in that catalysts in social assemblage can include reasons and motives as defined by Weber (DeLanda 2006, 22). These expressive mechanisms are 'meaningfully

comprehensible', invested with significance, but not necessarily causally linear, or 'rational' (ibid, 24).

> [W]e may acknowledge that individual actors are capable of making intentional choices, and that in some cases such intentional action leads to the creation of social institutions (such as the written constitutions of some modern nation-states), while at the same time insist that the synthesis of larger social assemblages is many times achieved as the collective unintended consequence of intentional action, that is, as a kind of statistical result. (ibid)

Saldanha's formulation of viscosity, however, engages the presence of abstract regulating features inherent in markets apart from the 'state' governing force. He recognizes that materially and expressively embodied characteristics like gender, 'race', or economic class become regulatory attractors of bodies. He further pursues this in imagining a 'machinic geography of phenotype' (Saldanha 2006), drawing on Deleuze's machinic assemblage to conceptualize 'how these bodies become viscous, slow down, get into certain habits, into certain collectivities, like city, social stratum, or racial formation' (2006, 19). I imagine this machinic quality similarly to the immanence of markets, or of assemblage more generally, in the way they simultaneously encourage and restrict evolutionary progressions of differentiation and repetition, shaping multiplicities as much through individual activity as through collective needs and fears. Instead of 'race' creating racism, in this perspective, 'race' comes to a trajectory because of the way racist practices emerge, which are in turn related to phenotypes – or to embodimentality – as material and expressive manifestations of embodiment.

The data I present, therefore, reflect choices of individuals as examples, imagining their choices as mapped onto a range of possible outcomes for similarly positioned individuals. This approach reflects the conclusions of much social research, in that many factors are acknowledged as influential but usually no one factor can be determined as causal. This finding is equally reason to distrust 'agency' as a causal factor, since so many factors might influence individual decision-making. Instead of focusing on finding a causal reason to answer why some Europeans of Moroccan origin act 'diasporically' while others do not, this research is concerned with how 'diasporicness' fills a broad range of possible enactments. As the genesis of individual causes is too complex to extricate, the system as a whole is taken as nonlinear, where the range of possible effects – ways of 'being Moroccan' – becomes a means to trace a domain of causes.

3.5. Conclusion

I have attempted to explain aspects of theories of assemblage that relate to my purposes to explore diasporic belonging in a framework that is not tied to nation or community. I latched onto these theories because they resonated with my own observations and interpretations as I began to make sense of my data. Like any theoretical exploration, however, this one is eternally incomplete, and only presentable in the state in which it appears at this moment.

The central points I want to emphasize link diasporic bodies to assemblage dynamics. In reading the following empirical chapters, these bodies need to be imagined as material forms producing language, as emergent complexities of diverse dimensions and metaphors, and as entities in collectivity with other like and unlike entities. These bodies are moving through physical spaces and through topological spaces, distancing from and approaching attractors of 'Europeanness' and 'Moroccanness' that become relevant through the practice of going on holiday. Their topological spaces at times map easily onto a physical landscape and at other times are disjointed from it. The connections they create from a European home to a Moroccan home are topologically close and physically distant; likewise speaking *derija* in Morocco would seem an affiliative act, but can have a distancing effect. Crossing these distances, inhabiting these spaces, and practicing towards these attractors, participants in this research are becoming diasporically Moroccan, both individually and collectively. To read them as simply 'neither Moroccan, nor European' denies their multiplicity.

4. Methodological frameworks

4.1. Introduction

Adhering to the way an assemblage approach privileges moments of interaction as central to shaping an entity, the analysis for this project explores how attractors combine, congeal and contest each other by examining data of experiences and encounters. In order to tease out the dimensions of 'Moroccanness' that emerge through the practice of 'going home' on holiday as a diasporic act, I need a path inward through empirical data to elaborate what 'Moroccanness' might be. This is expressed more precisely through the primary research question:

> How do communicative and leisure consumption encounters shape ideas of 'Moroccanness' for post-migrant generation Moroccans from France, Belgium and the Netherlands during their summer holidays in Morocco?

This question focuses the analysis on communicative encounters and consumption encounters as moments where 'Moroccanness' becomes relevant in some way for diasporic visitors in Morocco through embodimentality. There are a number of implications that emanate from this formulation regarding what can constitute data, how they might be collected, and what potential data about these visits would be left out. Most importantly, the theoretical framework of assemblage also informs how these data are relevant.

An assemblage like 'Moroccanness' has multiple dimensions, all interacting with each other in constant motion. At any given moment, a snapshot image of this assemblage provides a glimpse of its *state space*, a way of modeling the complexity of multidimensional systems. What state space 'captures is not their static properties but the way these properties change, that is, it captures a process' (DeLanda 2002, 13). It provides an image that depicts the current position as well as the trajectory and rate of change, as a vector projecting the limited predictability of movement for a given entity.

Imagining participants in a state space means perceiving of the interactions I witnessed, recorded or heard about not as defining an identity but a glimpse of a becoming. I contend that ethnomethodology (Katz 1999; Katz and Csordas 2003; Garfinkel 1967) provides a theory of method aligned with assemblage, providing a

way to elicit which attractors are 'made relevant', and which 'invisible' rules and structures of practical action are at work through observation and recording encounters between entities. My methodology therefore begins from this point, with a focus on moments of interaction, and extends to include other methods that add contextual, situational, and discursive substance to these encounters.

To describe and justify this and other methodological frameworks I used, first I will outline the composition of participants contacted for this research. I then describe the execution of data collection, from pilot research to analysis. Finally I elaborate on the choice of methods and their applications to my data.

4.2. Following the people: Locating a community

This project was undertaken following my disciplinary training first as a linguistic anthropologist (Wagner 2004), further as a sociolinguist (Wagner 2006) and finally as a geographer. Resulting from this succession of related but separate disciplines, the composition of the project and my approach to it are principally through linguistic anthropological, qualitative methods, like ethnography (Agar 1996; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus 1998) and recordings of talk-in-interaction (Garafanga 2001; Hester and Eglin 1997; Schegloff 2007). Moving into geography introduced new theoretical perspectives to my approach, but the methods remain essentially anthropological ones, that are also familiar to geographers (Crang 2002; Davies and Dwyer 2007; 2008).

The implementation of this research is designed in the spirit of following the people in multi-sited ethnography (Falzon 2009; Hannerz 2003; Hage 2005; Marcus 1995). This method has been advocated in literatures on migration or transnational communities (Levitt and Waters 2002; Mountz and Wright 1996; Collins and Slembrouck 2005) as means to further embed the ethnographer in the internationally located community. Though this project was undertaken as an ethnography of the holiday, the time spent doing ethnographic activities did not follow a typical model of embeddedness in a geographically locatable community. The 'holiday' in this case is not geographically specific, rather a dispersed cyclical period: following the people requires being in the right place at the right time rather than being embedded in a community fixed in one space or another.

Becoming familiar with communities over years of research, since my initial visit to Morocco in 1999 and my subsequent studies in France (2004-2006), gives me some ethnographic depth, but inevitably and always incomplete knowledge (Behar 1996). Adding to this an ethnomethodological perspective, I privilege encounters in context more than in-depth background knowledge of any single participant as representative of the collective. Building from that basis, my goals in this research were multiple: to address questions left open in existing literature, while also expanding on my previous research and contributing data reflecting a large and diverse population. Some of these goals were met, while others were only partially achieved. The first aspect I will address from these aims is my intent to contribute data reflecting a diverse cross-section of the research population.

4.2.1. Participants and participation

The primary population in this research are post-migrant generation diasporic Moroccans who reside in France, Belgium or the Netherlands, and who participate in the annual holiday in Morocco. As such, I considered their general characteristics to include:

> 1. they identify Morocco as a 'homeland' as children of two parents who emigrated from there, but one in which they themselves have not lived beyond the age of entry into school (generally 4 years old), if at all;
> 2. they have some linguistic competence in a Moroccan language, but have broader competence in French, Dutch or Flemish; and
> 3. they, as adults, choose to spend holiday time in Morocco, regularly or sporadically, in their hometown or elsewhere.[13]

Their other social characteristics vary, including gender, educational attainment, religious practice, marital status and professional attainment. They come from different towns in Europe and travel to different hometowns in Morocco. Their central unifying characteristic is participation in the holiday, whether actively or passively.

I found participants through networks, snowball sampling, and recruitment of flow populations (Ritchie and Lewis 2003, 94). The initial source for networked and snowball participants was close relationships with three key women, one each from France, Belgium and the Netherlands, hereafter families A, B and C respectively. Other participants were recruited during fieldwork in Europe and in

13. In respect of ethical considerations, I did not interview or solicit participation of individuals under the age of 18.

Morocco by approaching individuals with a survey questionnaire (Appendix 2) and soliciting them for further participation. Through these combined methods, 76 individuals contributed their time and opinions for interviews, participant observation, and recordings, along with approximately 70 others who filled in survey questionnaires. Figure 7 shows how previously discussed (2.2.2) known clusters of migration between Morocco and Europe are reflected in my participant pool.

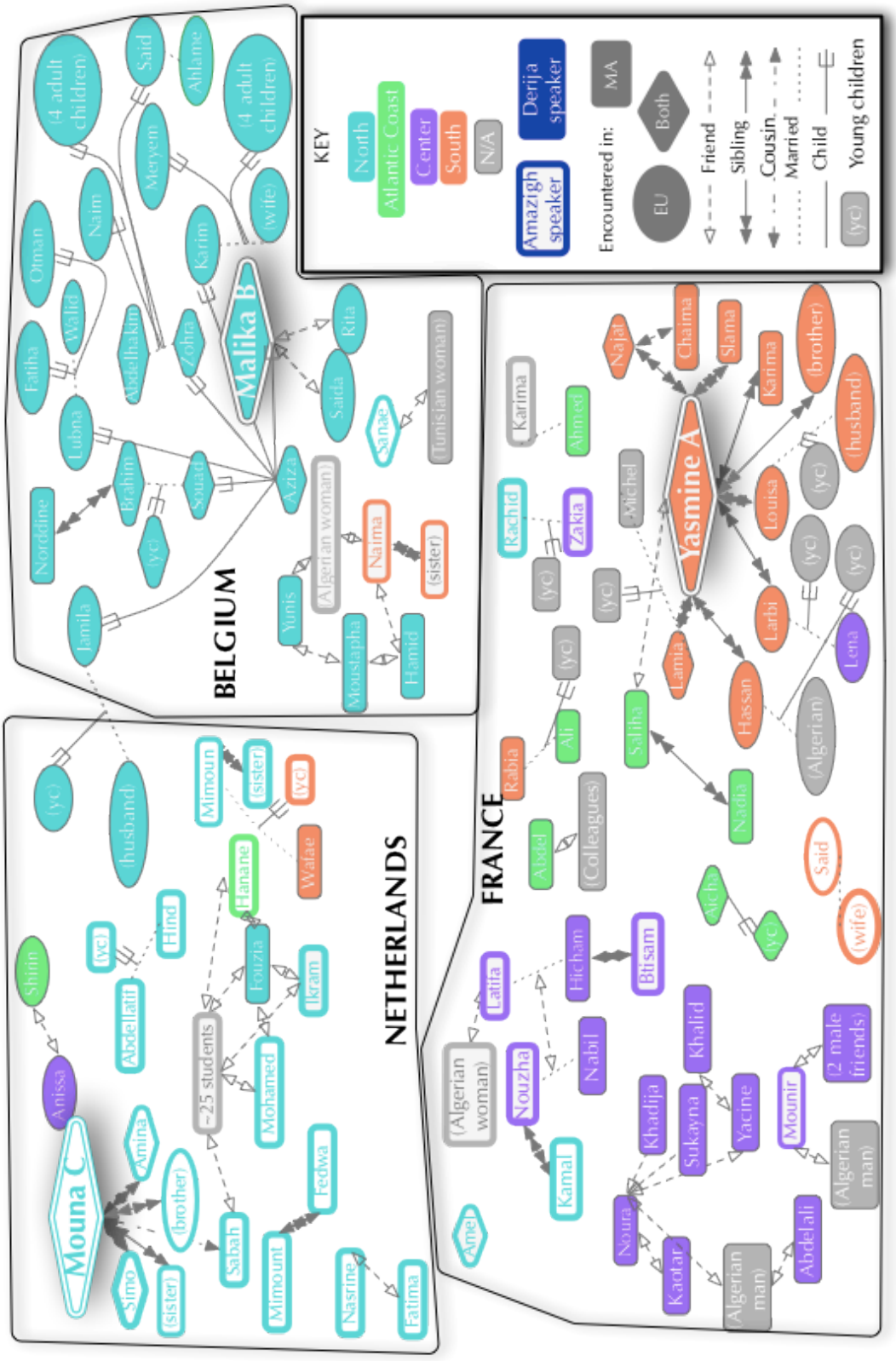


Figure 7. Participants grouped by EU country & coded for home region in Morocco

The intensive participation of the three key women is reflective of their statuses and positions within their familial social groups, and my own position as a

highly educated, female, American researcher. Yasmine A[14] (France) and Malika B (Belgium) are older than 30 and never married, which is unusual for Moroccan women as pressure to marry is strong in Morocco and in diaspora (Buitelaar 2006). Mouna C (Netherlands) was still relatively young (21 at the time of the research), but she is enrolled in advanced higher education, which is also unusual. The two older women are in professional jobs, are both highly multilingual and have many friends and connections outside of their immediate communities, along with regular contact with their families.

During fieldwork, I stayed in the family home of each of them – in France and the Netherlands for short visits and in Belgium over the six week period I spent in Antwerp. All of their family members were made aware of my research aims, and many of them participated in the project through interviews in Europe or through time spent with them on holiday in Morocco.

14. All names are pseudonyms.

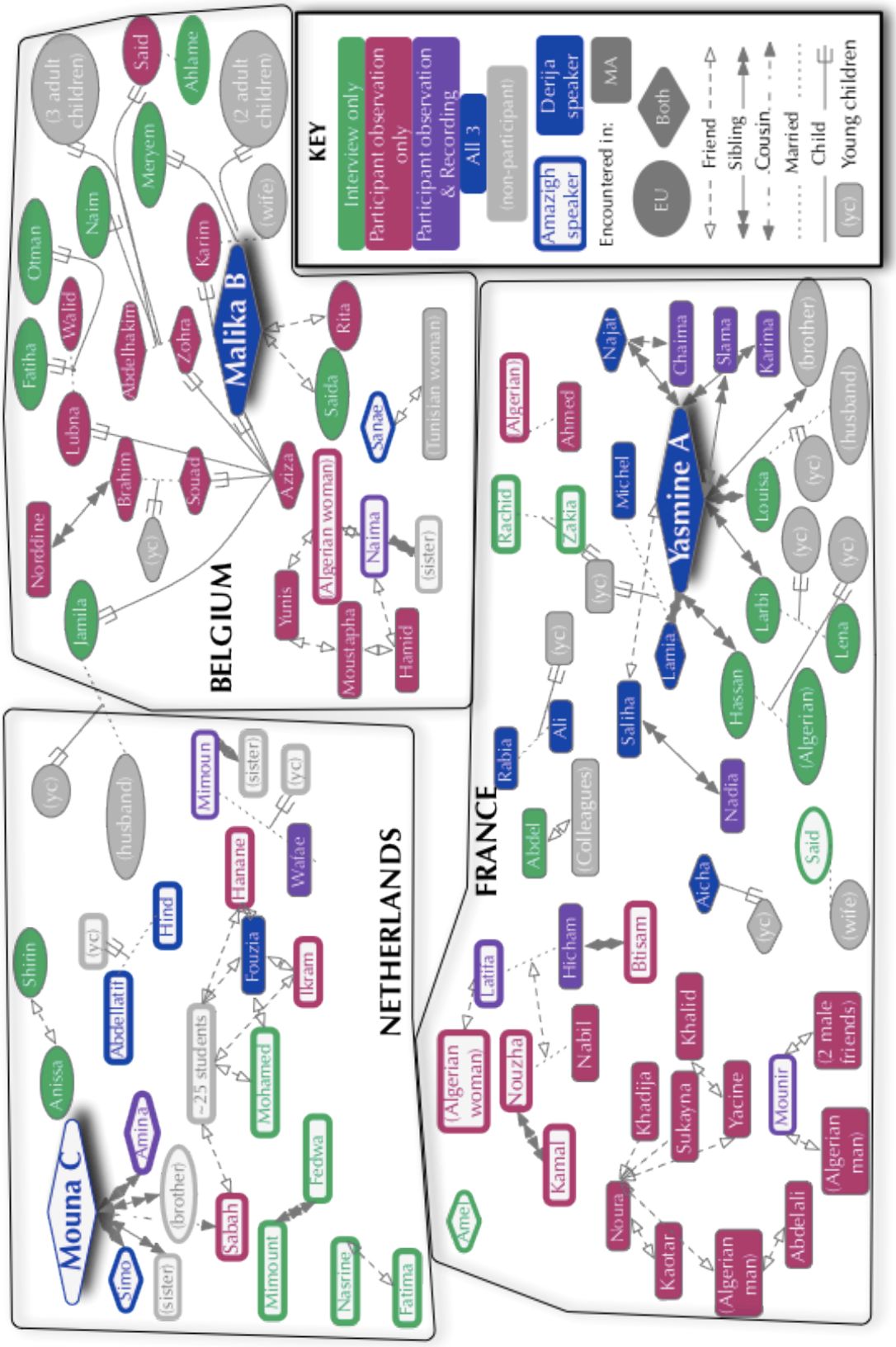


Figure 8. Participants grouped by EU country & coded for type of participation

Figure 8 indicates the form of participation of the three women, their families, and the remainder of the 76 participants from among the principal

qualitative methods used in this project – interview, participant observation, and recording – and where their participation took place – in Europe, Morocco or both. The chart also gives an indication of some of the peripheral, non-participants who were implicated in the research, like migrant-generation parents, young children, and spouses or friends who are not of Moroccan origin.

My positioning as a researcher relates very intensely to the status of these women as unusually highly educated or extroverted towards other communities. Their individual interests reflect my own personal interests, to some extent, in that we all enjoy learning languages and interacting with others outside of our home communities. Yet, my status as doubly outsider – in that I am neither Moroccan, nor French, Belgian or Dutch – also served a purpose in positioning me to others beyond these women. While my interest in Moroccans was sometimes questioned or thought suspicious – either because I might be an agent of the CIA or because I could be in search of a husband – I was often able to convince potential participants that this was not the case.

The unusual status of these three women may make them typical examples of fringe gatekeepers in the broader community, but they were at least able to introduce me to their families. Contact with their families, and sometimes extended families or family friends enabled me to grasp a more average cross-section of potential participants. Given my own relevant recognizable attributes, as a European-origin American, non-Muslim researcher, entry into this community would be in any case limited by sentiments of distrust for non-Muslims and distrust of researchers among a problematized minority community that has been subjected to successive microscopes.

Other participants were recruited by approaching individuals in Morocco during the holiday period. This was normally accomplished by spending time in high-traffic pedestrian areas or in certain cafés or restaurants that DVs tended to frequent, introducing myself as a researcher and obtaining a written questionnaire, then pursuing further contact with individuals who indicated willingness to participate (the last question on the survey, see Appendix 2). Interactions with these flow population participants ranged from spending an afternoon shopping in the souk, to meeting them over a period of days for various holiday activities. Yet, as Figure 8 demonstrates, the variety of forms of participation is fairly balanced, with

proportional numbers of individuals who gave their time for interviews, participant observation, and recording from each country.

As part of 'following the people', the pool of participants was ephemeral and unpredictable, and therefore unreliable for an ethnographer seeking depth of contact. The composition of diasporic holiday-makers is different each successive summer, in terms of who decides to travel, and where and when they go. While I had initially imagined interviewing many participants in Europe, then participating in the holiday with them in Morocco, in the end very few of those interviewed in Europe made the journey in 2008. Most of those who participated in all three qualitative collection methods, indicated in blue on Figure 8, did so entirely in Morocco, or across pilot and primary research. I therefore consider each participant's contribution in reference to what I know of his or her personal background, but also as a fragment of state space in comparison with other similarly positioned individuals.

These fragments relate back to balancing the participant pool through recruitment. The research question stated above includes an assumption that linguistic practices and leisure consumption practices of diasporic visitors are related to each other and relevant to ideas of 'being Moroccan'. My modes of recruitment reflect both prongs of this question, in that some participants were engaged through their familial connection, located in a linguistic-geographical framework, while others were found through their public leisure practices while in Morocco. I therefore consider each individual participant multidimensionally, in relation to an idea of 'Moroccanness' expressed by traveling to and around Morocco and in comparison with other individuals along dimensions of linguistic and geographical belonging.

4.2.2. Biases and targeted dimensions

Like any social research, the process of execution involves negotiating certain biases in accessibility amongst potential participants in the research population. The most important bias in this research is related the practice of Islam in Europe and conservative religious values. There is an underrepresentation of individuals who consider themselves or demonstrate more intense religious adherence, which is a growing trend in the Netherlands in particular (Leiken 2005).

The dynamics of that trend relate directly to my inability to obtain more contact with this group, as part of the rhetoric of more conservative religious movements is distrust of non-adherents. If I could repeat the fieldwork, I would focus on this bias earlier in the fieldwork and approach it more systematically.

This bias along a religious dimension may have impacted on my ability to balance participation along other implicitly related dimensions. Given the primacy of linguistic practice to my research, one of my goals in finding participants was to recruit individuals whose linguistic abilities fit dimensions different from the dominant Moroccan Arabic-French model I had previously investigated (see Wagner 2006). Specifically, I targeted three relevant, non-standard bilingual models: Amazigh-French, Moroccan Arabic-Dutch, or most of all Amazigh-Dutch as the anti-standard. These linguistic differences are related to emerging geographical dimensions of diasporic Moroccan communities, roughly divided between French-speaking Belgium and France, and Flemish-speaking Belgium and the Netherlands (see Figure 5), as well as implicit French-Arabic standards in Morocco.

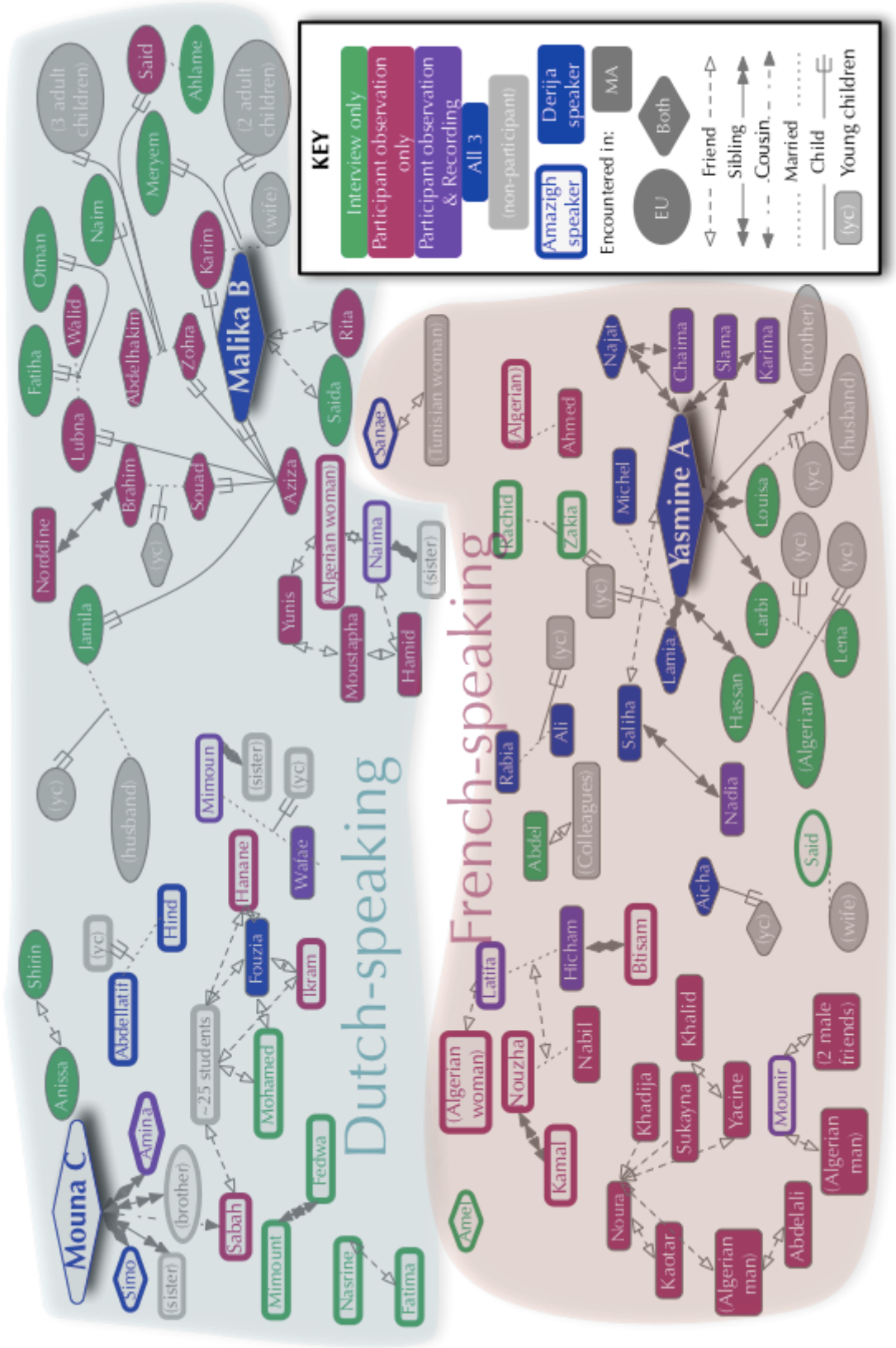


Figure 9. Participants grouped by primary EU language spoken

Figure 9 demonstrates, however, that the participant population is skewed to include an overabundance of French DVs (n=35) in comparison to Belgians (n=24)

or Dutch (n=17), and that many more French-speakers were contacted in Morocco and participated in recordings than Dutch-speakers. Only about one third of participants are Amazigh-only speakers, the majority of these being from the Netherlands. Mouna C, who was my point of entry into networks of Amazigh-Dutch participants, was unable to go on the holiday the summer of primary data collection. Her absence no doubt influenced my ability to recruit more Amazigh-Dutch Moroccans because of my positioning as an outsider religiously, geographically, linguistically, and nationally. She herself warned me that I would have a hard time finding participants amongst Amazigh or Rifi-Dutch Moroccans, citing a predominant distrust of outsiders. In the end, I did not have contact with enough individuals along different bilingual models to make any claims in this respect.

My success and failure in participant recruitment elsewhere reflected normal, anticipated biases of self-selection inherent in ethnographic research (Bernard 1998; 2006). The major difference between a standard model of ethnographic insertion in a community and this research is that the timeframe for qualitative data collection was limited to a short time period, creating necessarily intense but brief engagements. As I was advised before the primary fieldwork, it is not unreasonable to expect that individuals prefer to spend their holidays – already an exceptional and limited time period – with their friends and loved ones rather than an unfamiliar researcher. This alternate model of ethnographic participation reflects the intensity and brevity of time available, in terms of who agreed to allow me to accompany them, to what extent I was permitted access, and at what point my access was terminated.

Because of the time limitations, other biases are likely present that were beyond my control. I chose, however, to 'follow the people' around Morocco rather than basing myself in one city in order to avoid narrowing my perspective through the clustering effect of labor migration patterns. Moreover, because the holiday population is in constant motion, it is unlikely that I would have had more stable ethnographic interactions, even if I had stayed in one city.

4.2.3. Locations and activities

The fieldwork was planned and undertaken in three phases: following pilot research in Morocco during the summer of 2007, I was in Europe from February to April 2008, mostly in Antwerp, Belgium, then finally in Morocco again from May to September 2008. Phase one allowed me to visit different cities and observe the influx of visitors over the summer and to make contacts with some potential participants. During phase two I travelled to participants' homes in France, Belgium and the Netherlands for scheduled interviews while I studied Dutch at the University of Antwerp. During this period I made one trip to Morocco, accompanying Yasmine A and her friends who travelled there for a weekend excursion.

For the primary data collection, phase three, I remained in Marrakech almost continuously for the first half, encountering DVs there, while for the second half I was traveling almost constantly, finding DVs in their hometowns or on the road. I learned during the pilot research that a number of DVs visit Marrakech for short stays early in the summer, in advance of school holidays that start in their countries of residence around the beginning of July. Most families with school-aged children do not travel until then, rendering the period of mid-July to the end of August the highest volume of travelers. I scheduled a mid-summer trip to Belgium in order to make the journey from that region overland to Morocco with a family. Once I returned in mid-July, the remaining seven to eight weeks of this phase were spent traveling to meet with different contacts and participants, both those who were known to me previously and others who were recruited in the course of the summer.

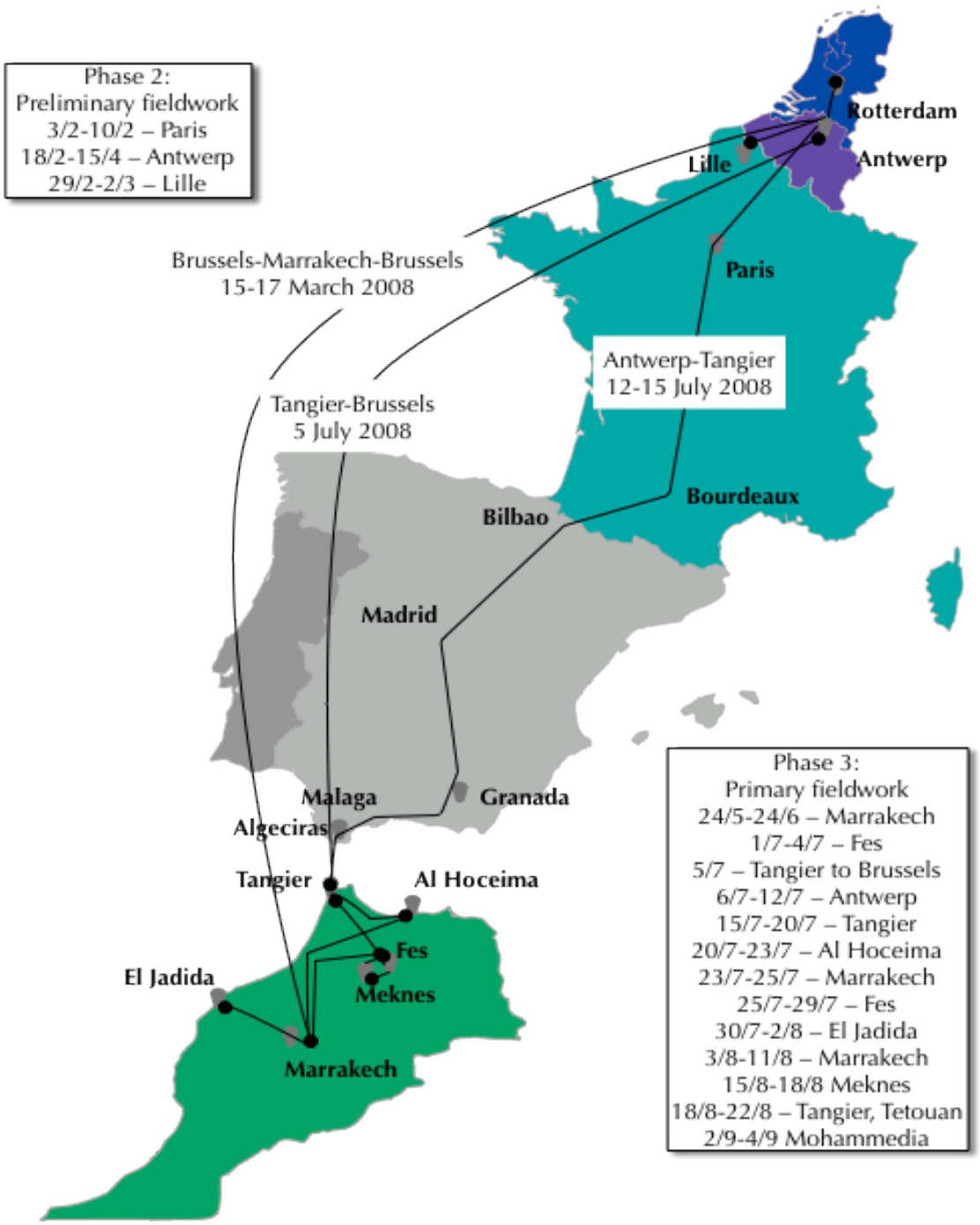


Figure 10. Map of fieldwork locations and dates

Figure 10 documents in more detail my movements and stops over the course of phases two and three, from February to September 2008. Most of these moves happened during the second half of phase three, which is the height of the summer and the moment when the majority of participants were present in Morocco. My travel pattern reflects my goal to incorporate populations from different regions in Morocco, as well as the fact that participants themselves were often not staying in one place.

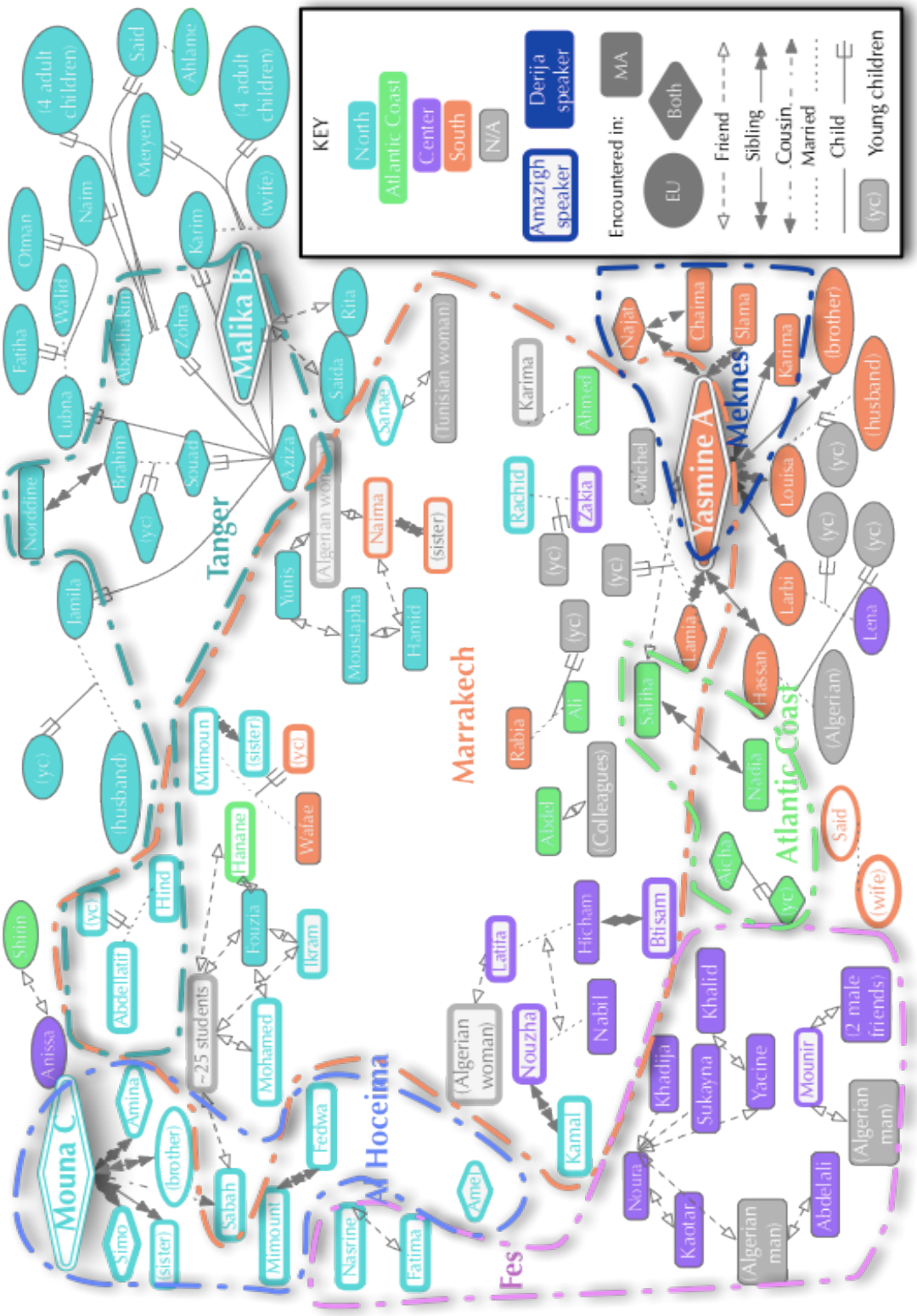


Figure 11. Participants grouped by place contacted in Morocco and coded for region of origin in Morocco

Figure 11 demonstrates participants I spoke to, color coded by their regions of origin, and grouped by the place or area where I interacted with them in Morocco. While for some, their participation took place in their hometowns, for

others it was in another place entirely. In some cases I followed individuals who went away from their hometowns during the holiday, and in other cases I first contacted them in that location, as flow population participants. Upon immediately glancing at this chart, the most significant fact is that only one participant in my research counted Marrakech as her hometown, but it clearly has the most participant encounters among all sites in Morocco.

The fact that I found so many participants in sites away from their family homes, particularly in Marrakech, may reflect a bias in recruitment. Because I approached potential participants in public spaces of leisure consumption instead of finding them entirely through family connections, and chose to stay in Marrakech for the longest period, I increased chances that I would find individuals outside of familial circumstances. Yet the fact that I did find so many in Marrakech, randomly and without pre-existing contacts in many cases, indicates that there were enough DVs traveling there that I was able to find them coincidentally. In the end, I designed my approach to participant recruitment in order to balance aspects of geographic dispersal and linguistic integration within Morocco. While the balance I aimed for may not have been achieved, the participants I found and the locations I researched reflect multiple fragments of diasporic Morocco, and contribute multiple perspectives to the analysis.

4.3. Data collection

Building on the 2007 pilot research, I decided to focus on spaces of leisure consumption as the primary site of encounter and interaction between resident Moroccans and DVs. I noted that places like beaches, pools, cafés, restaurants, city centers (medinas) and markets and their associated leisure activities accounted for a significant portion of participants' activities during the holiday, alongside spending time in the family home. Encounters between resident and non-resident family taking place in the home was not a central focus for a number of reasons. Though the data such interactions might provide would be informative, may also reflect family dynamics specific to individual families and intimate family histories. Such data could not be considered applicable without an impossibly large number of participants granting access to the house within the allotted time period. In

addition, not surprisingly, time spent with Morocco-based family was often 'protected' from my entry, even with the immediate family of the three women who most aided the research, because that time may be the only moment of the year to visit with a loved one.

My ethnographic methods and methodologies therefore focus on observing, recording and analyzing practices in interactions and encounters between resident Moroccans and diasporic visitors in leisure consumption environments. The primary sites of data collection include:

1. employing ethnographic participant observational methods in contexts of embodied consumption of places and leisure activities and
2. audio-recording interactions taking place in Moroccan marketplaces (souk) between diasporic visitors and locally-resident vendors.

To thicken the context of these recordings and observations, I conducted semi-structured interviews and used informal interviewing to gather participants' reflections on the processes and practices with which they are engaging. The combination of these primary methods focused on practice, along with secondary qualitative and quantitative methods like semi-structured and informal interviewing, analysis of public discourse and a a survey questionnaire (Silverman 2004; Ritchie and Lewis 2003; Seale *et al*. 2004), aim to create a triangulation of ethnographic, ethnomethodological and discursive data on material and expressive embodied practices of diasporic Moroccans.

4.3.1. Participant observation and ethnomethodology

The process and products of ethnography have been amply contested (Narayan 1993; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus 1998; Marcus and Fischer 1999; Gupta and Ferguson 1997) but it remains an apt methodology for the qualitative analysis of social activity by a participant observer. Despite complex considerations of accuracy, representation, ethics and partiality, no other method offers a comparable platform for discussing everyday activity in a non-controlled setting. Particularly in light of the focus on practice in this research, participant observation (Bernard 1998) permits analytical examination of activity and encounters as opposed to discourse about them. These observational methods were applied to the whole of my research experience, but their specific contributions in the analysis are related to leisure consumption activities and environments.

My use of participant observation as ethnography is informed by ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967; Katz and Csordas 2003). Through detailed examination of common sense practices as they are enacted and produced by participants, ethnomethodology brings attention to the order of ordinariness and to assumptions underlying that order and enabling it to be reproduced:

> Adopting a thoroughly 'bottom-up' approach, ethnomethodology seeks to recover social organization as an emergent achievement that results from the concerted efforts of societel members acting within local situations. Central to this achievement are the various methods which members use to produce and recognize courses of social activity and the circumstances in which they are embedded. The mundane intelligibility and accountability of social actions, situations, and structures is understood to be the outcome of these constitutive methods or procedures. (Clayman and Maynard 1994, 2)

While ethnography is meant to embed the researcher into layers of power and local sociocultural significances, ethnomethodology strips away specificities of context systematically to focus on efforts and achievement of social activity, no matter what its meaning or significance. I attempt to use these methods complementarily: ethnomethodology informs this analysis of practices that make up 'Moroccanness', while ethnography fills in the hierarchies and influences that shape the attractor of 'Moroccanness' amongst other attractors. This difference reflects the distance between the interaction in assemblage and the ways that interaction is interpreted and has radiating effects beyond the locus of contact.

Following philosophies of practice-centered approaches like ethnomethodology, conversation analysis (Sacks 1998; Schegloff 2007) and theories of practice (Bourdieu 1977; Schatzki 1997; 2002), I analytically distinguish between what participants do over what they say about what they do. In line with Katz, I consider that

> [w]hen people *generalize* about what they do, much less try to explain *why* they do it, what they say is extremely suspect as anything other than an artifact of the inquiry. On the other hand, when people *describe* what they were doing at times when the stakes for them were both high and independent of the current inquiry, we have reason to have more faith in reading what they say as evidence about what they have lived. (1999, 8; italics original)

Katz's succinct explanation builds on a lineage from Wittgenstein (1958) through Goffman (1966), Garfinkel (1967), and Sacks (1972) that represents movement towards an understanding of the social through microanalysis of interaction. While individual philosophies of method differ slightly, the central focus of all these methods is on naturally-occuring activity, usually of a kind that is ordinary,

repeated or habitual, permitting an analyst to elicit structures and patterns of behavior through repetition. They are often directed at activities that are by definition 'normal', and therefore eminently embedded in the 'invisible' rules that make social interaction possible.

To get at what Katz refers to as the 'invisible' data of emotion (1999, 10), or what I call *embodimentality*, my methodological focus rests on 'what' and 'how' rather than 'why' as participants practice or report about their behavior. This contextualizes such data as individually idiosyncratic but informative about broader patterns. As Sklar (1994, 13) notes, the ability to analyze embodiment as a socially and culturally managed form of expression requires training in recognizing and recreating movement. It is not a domain in which participants can reasonably be expected to precisely identify the source of felt distinctions. Like emotion, it is a domain of metaphorical description associating impressions of movement and their discursive interpretations – like interpreting a style of walk as 'pretentious' or as 'unassuming', the truth of such an attribution lies in its metaphor (Katz 1999). Embodimentality must be understood as metaphorical as well, in the sense that it exists and is reproduced exclusively as a relationship between entities and can only be expressed through that relationality.

4.3.2. Recordings

Recording of naturally-occuring talk was applied to marketplace interactions between diasporic Moroccan visitors and locally-resident Moroccan vendors, a site which combines communicative and consumption practices. Marketplace interaction, defined for these purposes as talk between vendor and client in the context of a non-fixed price purchase, requires the use of the specific genre of bargaining (Bauman 2001; French 2001; Kapchan 1996). Bargaining, along with pre- and post-bargaining chat, are structured forms that allow possibility for creativity in the situation that can include using multiple linguistic codes as means of creating interactive proximity to obtain tangible goals (Lindenfeld 1990; Drivaud and Peretz-Juillard 1984). To some extent marketplace interaction is in public space and therefore a genre accessible to anyone, yet it is not a skill obtained by all. Even resident Moroccans do not necessarily consider themselves 'good bargainers', and may entrust others who are seen as more skilled to help make significant purchases.

Yet, marketplace interaction is more a part of everyday life in Morocco, where prices are more rarely fixed for material goods, than in Europe, where the practice of bargaining is limited to either major purchases (car, house) or marginal ones (Crewe and Gregson 1998).

Apart from orientations on an economic scale, which are often referenced in bargaining, vendors are attuned to taste preferences of post-migrant diasporic Moroccans as a group, and can tailor their strategies according to these perceived identities. In this situation, linguistic competence is also a factor: past research (Wagner 2006) indicates that both parties, vendor and diasporic client, have pre-conceptions about the importance of linguistic competence in a local language as a marker of 'local' identity, that is realised as a price obtained for merchandise. In this sense, the political economy of language has a cash value (Irvine 1989) that is manifested in the success or failure of participants in their bargaining goals. Issues of trust and distrust often emerge in these interactions as well, in a parallel to Desforges' (2001) remarks about tourists' perceptions of authenticity as linked to monetary exchange. Market interactions can be revelatory in this respect in the commentary talk subsequent to the interaction: participants on both sides will often voice opinions about their bargaining partner in the aftermath of an exchange that may not be made explicit in other circumstances.

I recorded this data in two separate ways: first by approaching vendors and requesting permission to record their exchanges with customers, and also by asking participants to be recorded during shopping excursions. The vendors were generally adult men, who may be working as employees in a permanent shop or temporary stall or be owners themselves of premises or of a commercial license. Occasionally I had a chance to interview vendors directly about their attitudes towards diasporic visitors, but their principal participation is through recordings of interactions. The recordings were accomplished by attaching a microphone and digital recorder to a participant, vendor or DV, while at the souk. Data consists of bargaining conversations he or she had during the period of recording. Because of the transient nature of these conversations, and the fact that they take place in a public space, I did not inform each vendor or client co-participant that he or she had been recorded. Although this presents some ethical questions, I argue that the nature of the conversations involved – between two (or more) individuals, unknown

to each other, speaking without the expectation of privacy, and with myself present in each case – individual rights to privacy are not in violation. Conversants are assured anonymity, in that I have omitted potentially identifying information from transcripts and I maintain control of the recordings themselves.

These recordings were analyzed borrowing principles of Conversation Analysis (CA), but adhering more to the theoretical program of interactional sociolinguistics or linguistic ethnography (Rampton 2007). Tenets of CA prescribe a narrowly focused analysis of talk-in-interaction, where conclusions are based on observable, ordered patterns in talk and particularly in the organisation of turns by interactants and the complementarity of different actions that can be taken in conversational turns (Have 1999; Have and Psathas 1995; Nofsinger 1991; Wooffitt 2005). Orientations of participants towards one another through CA is discussed in terms of alignment (Schegloff *et al*. 1977) or in terms of membership categorization (Atkinson and Heritage 1984; Hester and Eglin 1997; Sacks 1998). Dynamics of membership categorization emerge most forcefully in moments of conversational 'trouble', where a sequence or action has broken down and interactants must re-orient themselves to each other in order to achieve a repair of the situation (Egbert 2004). Similar to the principles of ethnomethodology, this opening for analysis occurs when a common sense, ordinary structure is 'broken', exposing the assumptions inherent in the activity that permit that structure to work in other iterations. CA makes it possible to analyze bargaining interactions between post-migrant diasporic Moroccans and local Moroccan vendors in terms of the membership categorisations invoked in the course of interaction.

My theoretical interests, however are not in the dynamics of talk itself, but in contextual factors. Contexts not evoked by participants in the course of talk are normally discounted from strict CA, but are included to some extent here. While I incorporate conversation analytical perspectives, I do not perform the detailed linguistic microanalysis normally done on CA data. The linguistic work here, therefore, is better considered in the interdisciplinary range of linguistic ethnography, as investigating rather than assuming contexts for communication by analyzing forms of talk as much as content (Rampton 2007: 585).

4.3.3. Semi-structured and informal interviews

Semi-structured and informal interviews were performed as a means of collecting qualitative, contextual data on participants' individual life histories and to evoke discursive ideas and metaphors about their holiday practices. Lines of questioning for diasporic Moroccan participants included:

- Family background
  - – history of migration to place of residence by father and mother
  - – composition of siblings and presence of other close family in place of residence
  - – composition of family in Moroccan home
  - – linguistic competences
  - – estimation of linguistic abilities with family
  - – estimation of abilities outside of familial contexts in Morocco
  - – desires to transmit linguistic competences to future generations and plans for implementation
- Holiday history
  - – memories and narratives from early holiday excursions to Morocco
  - – description of evolution of participation on holidays from childhood to adolescence through adulthood
  - – commentary on differences between early experiences and adult experiences
- Holiday participation
  - – description of activities engaged in on holidays in Morocco within family framework
  - – description of activities pursued independent of the family framework
  - – impressions of Morocco as a place to be visited
  - – impressions of Moroccans and local 'culture'
  - – desires to settle semi-permanently or permanently in Morocco
  - – reflections on public discourse about diasporic visitors in Morocco

I cite both semi-structured interviewing and informal interviewing as methods because, in an ethnographic context, I preferred not to create a formal interview frame for posing these questions. Six individual and group interviews on these topics performed in previous research pointed me towards interesting openings for investigation in this topic. Those, as well as the 22 interviews performed during the fieldwork with 30 participants, individually and in groups, constitute the commentary and narratives about past experiences related to the topics listed above. These interviews, 11 of which took place in Europe and 11 in Morocco, establish contexts and discourses to frame the ethnographic aspect of this research.

Following my tendency towards ethnomethodological framing of data, I preferred informal interviewing (Agar 1996), or posing questions on site and in

context, to semi-structured settings. The answers given in this kind of situation, as in any interview, must be considered as emergent from the moment of experience and as an interaction produced between researcher and participant. The advantage of informal interviewing is that it reflects to a greater degree the sociolinguistic norms of everyday conversation (Briggs 1986). This method avoids creating a separate, 'neutral' situation for questioning, but does not always provide sufficient time and focus to respond to all of the researcher's questions. I consider the circumstance of interviews as part of the data they provide as much as I consider the content of what was said. Some of my interviews, for example, took place in participants' European homes or hometowns, where the Morocco we discussed was a distant place; others, both semi-structured and informal, took place in Morocco while participants were on holiday. Given that the subject of this research is a population in mobility, these timespaces must be taken into account as part of the data.

When I had a chance to interview vendors, primarily in Marrakech, the question were less about personal details and more about their experiences with diasporic Moroccan clients. Topics included:

– estimation of the percentage of diasporic clients during the summer compared with other tourists and non-diasporic Moroccans
– merchandise diasporic Moroccans tend to purchase
– impressions about the behaviours and linguistic practices of diasporic Moroccans
– vendor's method for setting prices; whether there is recognition of a distinction between a 'tourist' price and a 'local' price
– strategies for bargaining with diasporic Moroccans compared to tourists and to non-diasporic Moroccans
– reflections on the presence of visiting diasporic Moroccans as beneficial or detrimental

The data of these semi-structured interviews provide an anecdotal survey of diasporic visitor consumption activity from the perspective of those who provide goods and services in key locations. I performed this kind of interview at central souks, popular beaches and prominent cafés where diasporic visitors were observed consumers. These impressions inform other data on perceptions of 'Moroccanness' amongst resident and non-resident Moroccans.

4.3.4. Public discourse

Along similar lines, artifacts of public discourse make up part of an ethnographic composition of diasporic presence in Morocco. Evident on different

media, from billboards to television ads to news programs, are discourses of participation of the diasporic Moroccan population. Given the influx of people during the summer holidays, advertising directed at them and news commentary on them increases in frequency during summer months. This cohort includes campaigns that are directed at them from government sources like the Moroccan government-sponsored foundations set up to monitor the diaspora and the National Office of Tourism, as well as certain non-government ones that are particularly prominent, like Maroc Telecom messages at beach 'welcoming MRE', and Attijariwafa bank, the 'Moroccan bank without borders'. Detailed semiotic readings of these as image and text (Schiffrin 1994; Weiss and Wodak 2003) would be informative, but the length of the thesis does not permit. Instead, I include these data as part of a semiotic and communicative landscape of the holiday (Scollon and Scollon 2003).

4.3.5. Questionnaires

Because the target population is so difficult to define within most national or census frameworks, as their citizenship designations are inconsistent across nations and collection strategies, I designed a questionnaire (Appendix 2) as a means of framing my qualitative work with some quantitative data. Subject areas addressed on it include demographic information, linguistic practices, touristic practices and consumption practices. The survey functioned both as a source of potential data and as a means to open interaction with and recruit potential participants.

Between August 2007 and September 2008 I collected a sample of 102 survey respondents, of which 93 were kept as valid. Two slightly different versions of questionnaire were used, with the major modification being the inclusion of a self-assessment question about religious practice. Some of these were completed by individuals known through prior acquaintance or through snowball sampling amongst friends and family. The majority were collected from high-traffic areas in city centers in Morocco.

I do not intend to present these surveys as statistically significant data, given that the valid responses are not numerous enough and there are a number of potential biases in randomization and reliability of the sample. Sampling on street corners, for example, made it very difficult to systematically randomize responses

because only a portion of passersby might be eligible respondents, and they could only be identified quickly and visually. Furthermore, as the added question on religious practice demonstrates, the sample was significantly biased in the lack of religious adherence reported. As a survey, this one has provided more openings for future improvement than reliable data. More importantly, it enabled me to recruit a significant number of participants, beyond my pre-existing contacts, some of which proved to be immensely informative. An outline of results can be found in Appendix 2.

4.3.6. Methods of analysis

My data analysis includes close examination of the primary data sources and aggregation of secondary data for use as reference and framework. Primary data include fieldnotes from participant observation, recordings of marketplace and other naturally-occurring interactions, and recorded interviews. Artifacts of public discourse and the survey questionnaires were considered as secondary sources.

Recorded primary data was first logged for events, topics and conversational incidents. These logs were coded with keywords (see Appendix 3 for list of keywords) and collections of clips were made from keyword groupings and relationships. For the sake of time and efficiency, not all of the recordings were fully transcribed. During the draft stages, relevant clips were included using their logged descriptions. Only extracts that remain in the final drafts were fully transcribed. I transcribed each initially to the best of my abilities, then solicited aid from native speakers in completing transcription when questions remained.

Fieldnotes were coded using the same keyword list. In treating them as a primary data source, extracts of fieldnotes included in the final draft adhere to their original form, including grammatical and format idiosyncrasies. The only changes are excised passages, marked by ellipses, and some identifying information has been replaced.

Secondary data sources were aggregated for use at various stages in the research. My collection of artifacts of public discourse, for example, began prior to this fieldwork during past research. Examples of these artifacts were also collected during the fieldwork and analysis, and are dated accordingly. These were not catalogued and analyzed as a group; rather they were inserted as reflections of

relevant themes. The survey questionnaires also provided guidance during earlier phases of this research, as they were collected initially during the pilot research. Preliminary results from the first thirty surveys provided some direction in which leisure spaces were more likely to be frequented by DVs, which then became a more important focus during the main fieldwork phase.

4.4. Conclusion: Holiday timespaces

The ephemeral, anonymous pattern of participation in this research resonates with the spatial and temporal existence of the holiday: it can only occur when diasporic visitors appear in Morocco, and involves intensive movement and passage through public spaces. As such, the fieldwork was designed to explore this timespace through more observational and interaction-focused methods, and to examine other timespaces occurring before and after through interviews and reflective methods. In other words, during the holiday (phase three) the focus was to gather data on practices and events of the holiday; outside of the holiday period (phase two) the objective was to collect data on how the holiday is conceived of and regarded by those who participate in it and others who do not.

The methods applied to acquire data from different zones of encounter reflect the kinds of activities going on in each. Marketplace interactions, for example, represent a moment when DVs will have the most prolonged communicative interaction with resident Moroccans apart from interactions with family members. These proved the most productive spaces of encounter in which to record linguistic data. In other leisure spaces, like beaches and cafés, I used participant observation as my primary method. In some cases I sought out and observed these spaces on my own, while at other times, by preference, I accompanied participants during their leisure activities.

My approach, like any, had clear biases and limitations. As an outsider in all cogent respects, my access to this community was structured through at times tenuous and brief encounters, or through the participation of three women whose own status in the community was marked. My access to family homes, for example, was more rare than I have experienced in previous research, which is reflected in the focus of my analysis. I purposefully targeted a large and diverse population, but

that choice may have blinded me from other significant interpretations of this data by preventing me from being based in a single location. Most importantly, my ability to gather recorded data on embodiment was limited, though this did not appear as such a significant problem until embodiment became more important in the analysis.

Given these limitations, what is important to note is that no matter where I visited in Morocco, from small towns to larger cities, from the interior to the coast, the pattern of these leisure activities was roughly consistent: DV youth sought out nightclubs and restaurants, or where there were none of these suitable cafés; they went to the beach where possible, but in case of no beach they frequented the nearest pool or natural water source. In this sense the observational data I collected is both ethnographic and ethnomethodological – I recorded both 'thick description' (Geertz 1973) of these different spaces as located in particular neighborhoods or regions, but also the broader sense of their role as internationally-recognizable spaces of interaction where DVs could collectively, individually participate in the 'holiday'.

5. Diasporic attachment: Traveling to Morocco in the pursuit of 'home'

5.1. Introduction

Why do diasporic Moroccans travel to Morocco? Comparable contemporary and historical accounts of other diasporic groups document that most enact diasporic return infrequently, if at all. Returns are often momentous occasions, like extensively organized family reunions (Ramirez *et al*. 2007), or once in a lifetime visits to researched ancestral locations (Nash 2008). Until relatively recently, migration on an intercontinental scale was predominantly a one-way trajectory, with little possibility for reversal in either temporary or permanent 'return' (Berger and Mohr, 1989; Cohen, 1995; Hatton and Williamson 1994; Hout and Goldstein 1994). Yet some migrant groups develop regular patterns of return, which continue to be practiced by future generations (Cisneros 2002; Levitt 2009; Levitt and Waters 2002). Whether as a topic of conversation within the community (Stephenson 2002), as a long-distance holiday (Ali and Holden 2006), as tracing a genealogical path (Nash 2008), as a project of counter-diasporic return (King and Christou 2009; King and Gamage 1994; Reynolds 2008), or as 'visiting friends and relatives' (VFR) branded travelers who seek 'home' (Feng and Page 2000; Butler 2003), notions of *descent* and place connected to family, 'home' and cultural belonging are interwoven with the potential act of diasporic return.

Moroccan diasporic visitors, specifically those whom I interviewed who participate in return visits, express a set of notions about going 'back' or going 'home' that are not unlike those reported by other researchers on migration in similar contexts. These often consist of imprecise but strongly felt ideas of a homeland linked to 'ethnic identities' – the same attributes that are the perceived source of discrimination and difference in their places of residence. Return is mythologized as a path to nostalgic absorption of such an 'ethnic identity', often imagined as stable and pure, being rooted in the *place* of the homeland as it cannot be rooted in the place of diasporic residence.

Frequency of return is intrinsically related to access to mobilities. Resources like money, time, transport technology, and speed of travel influence the

calculation of distance (Urry 2000). Migrants and their families often have limited access to resources that would enable them to regularly, or even irregularly, return 'home'. The mobility resources of Moroccans in Europe – their proximity combined with the ability to travel most of the distance in cars they often already own – are uniquely configured to permit more frequent, habitual temporary returns that have become institutionalized as the summer holiday.

In that diasporic Moroccans are often living in nodular communities, surrounded by friends and family of similar origins, their materialization into action is spurred by the visibility of collective mobilization. As in Guène's narrative quoted in the introduction (1.1), neighbors are seen at the beginning of summer packing their cars and embarking on holiday towards 'home', inspiring others to do the same. Travel towards 'home' on holiday becomes a quintessentially diasporic, immanent timespace, composed of non-resident Moroccans who are motivated to act by an attachment to Morocco as a 'homeland'. As immanent return becomes actualized, those who may not experience the same effects of attachment are left out. Actualization of this timespace – the enactment of return – becomes an important affective part of 'being diasporic.'

The more positive aspects of attachment are contradicted by the practices diasporic visitors embody and enact upon arrival 'home'. As much as nostalgic imaginings of time spent with family are part of the visit, other negative affective iterations of attachment emerge when diasporic visitors arrive in Morocco. The reciprocal obligation to family and to homeland implied by attachment can be a negative part of the experience. While some enjoy performing obligatory visits to family, for many this becomes a shorter and less important part of the holiday as they become more independently mobile. Instead, the sense of attachment can be interpreted as linked with different entities apart from immediate family: with Morocco as an historical, culturally and religiously specific place, or with an idea of 'being-Moroccan' as a part of one's identity that emerges through coming to Morocco.

Addressing these perspectives envisioning unproblematic, straightforward affective and material attachment to family – and, implicitly through genealogical *descent*, to the *place* as if the two are indivisible – this chapter investigates how the

metaphor of *attachment* enters into the assemblage of 'Moroccanness' as part of the motivation to enact diasporic return. *Attachment* acts as a nodal collecting point of ideas of familial connectedness, implying both genealogical and geographical rootedness in Morocco. As a corollary of familial connectedness, *attachment* also refers to obligations understood to exist through networks of kinship and its locally-specific notions of reciprocity. The metaphor encompasses the idea of being willfully attached in an affective sense, but also unwillingly attached through expectations emerging from family dynamics.

To explore how *attachment* emerges and shapes 'Moroccanness' in the practice of going 'home' to Morocco, this chapter follows the development of the journey from before it begins through arrival and its aftermath. The first section (5.2) relates how excitement and anticipation build towards departure, fueled both by the surrounding community and government discursive influences. Next, as the journey begins, section 5.3 describes how the experience of being on the road together becomes a material and expressive part of being diasporically Moroccan, through this particular act of mobility. As we reach the border in section 5.4, this story becomes more contentious as the 'homeland' becomes an actualized place with other occupants who sometimes do not readily accept diasporic presence. Finally, given this progression from positive *attachment* to negative, section 5.5 discusses how the notion of return is idealized and realized through nostalgia and practical considerations that fluctuate through stages of the lifecycle. All these multiple perspectives provide an impression of how the annual holiday in Morocco plays a role in establishing and materializing diasporic *attachment*, both positively and negatively, to the homeland.

5.2. Getting ready to go: Pushing and pulling of *attachment*

Figure 12. Extracted from a Facebook thread entitled Je bent een echte Marokkan als (you are a real Moroccan if), posted 3 January 2010.

> You are genuinely Moroccan if you think back with nostalgia to those blissful times when you went up the beautiful Moroccan mountains with your family to visit the birthplace of your father or mother. The pure joy and welcome from friends, family and acquaintances is truly heartwarming. The peace, the simplicity and traditions make you realize how Western society has improved. Nevertheless, you cannot miss the other things!

Every year, the time leading up to the summer holidays brings increasing activity around the question of who will go or not go to Morocco this year. While not everyone travels, there is always someone around – a friend or a family member – who will travel. Excitement and anticipation about the holiday become part of a collective affect, through which some individuals will choose to depart and some will be pressured to depart. Likewise, some will stay with disappointment and some will abstain from traveling to Morocco by choice. In this section, I discuss some of the factors contributing to this choice: family dynamics and responsibilities, collective affect as motivation, and ways the holiday becomes an institutionalized habit, both individually and through government institutions.

5.2.1. Departure: The familial push of attachment *towards Morocco*

In the course of the fieldwork, one of my goals was to find a family with whom I could make the journey by car from the EU to Morocco. Because families rarely plan their driving schedule, it was impossible to secure a seat in advance. I decided to get myself to Belgium in mid-July to reconnect with my contacts there and try to find a family willing to give me a spot in their car. The process of getting a ride submerged me in the networks of Malika B's family and their practices of getting ready to go to Morocco.

The task of finding myself a ride proved much more difficult than I had anticipated, but, in hindsight, understandably so. For any family, traveling two to three days by car is not the moment when individual members get along well, and to have that situation be witnessed by a stranger (even one who has previously stayed in the family home) is not ideal. Apart from social difficulties, there was also the simple problem of having a seat, as most vehicles are completely packed with supplies for the holiday, gifts, personal items, and sometimes decoration or essentials being carried to the Moroccan house. To insert myself into this dynamic, I eventually had to become a catalyst within other family dynamics.

During the week I stayed at Malika B's apartment in Belgium, I cycled through a number of possibilities for travel with different branches of her family. When I arrived on Sunday her sister Souad's car was my goal as I knew it was spacious, but their mother's decision to travel filled their empty seat. Tuesday evening I learned that one of Malika's nephews had decided to depart during that week, but the seats in his car were also a matter of family politics: he was taking a few friends, and rejected his mother's request for a place. By the time I got a reply from him on Thursday that I could not have a place, he was already in Spain.

My passage finally came about because of family politics and pressure on Malika. She had not intended to go; as a single woman in a high pressure job, she has very little time for her personal concerns, and planned to use her holiday time to stay at her Belgian home and relax. This year, however, her sister Souad decided to go, after not having gone for the six previous years. Souad told me that timing was critical: her youngest child has just passed the age where he can fly sitting on her lap, so plane tickets for all four family members would be too expensive; and her husband would soon no longer have their travel vehicle, a large van he used for work. Because she would be traveling in the van, she would be able to transport their aging mother Aziza, who cannot travel by plane. Malika was therefore needed in Morocco to help care for Aziza.

My search for a ride combined with Aziza's situation convinced Malika to accept an offer from her sister and brother-in-law, Zohra and Abdelhakim. As the parents of six grown children, none of whom was traveling that summer, they had an empty backseat. Unbeknownst to me, I was offered a place with them, but only if Malika came to help her sister. Possibly because she did not want to travel, I was included in this negotiation as a friend and companion. In the end she agreed, in response both to indirect pressure to help me, from my increasing panic at not finding a ride, and pressure by her sisters to help her mother. Malika's sense of obligation to family, particularly as a caregiver for her mother, was clearly a strong factor in this dynamic.

Many participants discussed 'seeing family' as one of their motivating factors in traveling, a key expression of their sense of *attachment* to Morocco. This practice, however, is also a key example of how *attachment* is intensively linked to

obligation. The desire to care for family members can be emotionally potent as an altruistic expression of love, or as confinement and limitation on autonomy. Going to Morocco is inevitably a family endeavor, often involving contact with more distant branches of family that are not seen on a regular basis. As much as there is a desire to make that contact, there are competing desires for self-determination, as evidenced both by Malika's reluctance to go and by her nephew's refusal to give his mother a ride in his car. This double-edged *attachment* emerges repeatedly and in many forms in connection to the holiday.

5.2.2. Insha'allah*: Inchoate affective state of going to Morocco*

Malika calls this time of year 'Marokko korts' – Morocco fever – because everyone in her circle is preoccupied with the impending journey:

5.2.2.a. Fieldnotes: Listening in Antwerp living rooms, 11 July 2008

> People come by every day discussing who's going and who isn't; people who we meet accidentally are also sounded for their status, going/not going and why; status changes daily, about which days we are going, with whom, cars together or not.
> there is a long chain of discussion about caravanning cars between 2 brothers in law – phone calls pass back and forth between all the women but the men don't talk directly to each other about the plan until the day after we were meant to leave.
> We are scheduled for thursday; the older brother in law says thursday is when he's leaving but the younger can't manage to be ready for then, and decides, following his own father, that it's better to leave late at night to avoid spending 2 nights on the road.
> In the end, Malika purchases a ticket for a return flight and accepts the offer of a place, but the difficulty in departing continues, as different members and branches of the family negotiation departure times, responsibilities and routes.

Fitting with the way the holiday works, the week I was in Belgium was full of decisions, events, reversals and chatter that eventually lead to departure. My passage was both uncertain and inevitable. Once in Belgium, I knew that I would be able to find a way back to Morocco, but the way this journey might happen was completely unpredictable. This particular mode of unpredictability is linked palpably with the enactment of departing for Morocco as part of 'being-Moroccan'. As an affective condition that works in equilibrium with *attachment*, I call this attracting dynamic *insha'allah*.

Many interviewees alluded to the excitement of 'Morocco fever', the anticipation of travel leading up to the moment of departure. 'Fever' provides a

distinct metaphor for imagining the collective energy directed towards the holiday in these geographically intertwined communities. This moment is emotionally tense, with participants in family B enacting all sides of the equation: from those who are excitedly preparing (Souad's children) to those who are unwillingly left behind (Zohra's children), to those who are departing unwillingly (Malika). The uncertainty about the circumstances of departure – who, when, how – is an essential part of this emotional state linked with the assemblage of 'Moroccanness' where *insha'allah* begins to operate.

The phrase 'insha'allah' is a familiar one to any Arabic speaker or Muslim, signifying 'if God wills'. In Western-centric discourse, it is often characterized as a means of evading responsibility in opposition to the correct attitude of assuming responsibility, as in this positivistic exemplar from a business journal article:

> The cultures of the Middle East are unique in many aspects, but there is a general tendency toward fatalism. This is manifest in many ways, but particularly in one expression, "insha' Allah," roughly translated as "Allah (God) willing," but also used to suggest "if the boss wills it" (Rice, 1999), or other similar expressions, depending on culture. Insha' Allah is used to explain many uncertainties in life and sometimes to delay or reposition responsibility and decision making. (Welsh and Raven 2006, 32)

'Insha'allah' in fact reflects one of the major tenets of Islam, the recognition of the will of a higher power as stronger than one's own. While it may manifest as fatalistic abstention from responsibility in some contexts, in relation to the holiday it manifests as a calculable variable, a known state of spontaneity. From departure (going or not going), to the daily activities, to the circumstances of return, planning anything in relation to the Moroccan holiday is tempered with *insha'allah*.

The sense of unpredictability about when, or if, one might depart on holiday to Morocco illustrated in my experience of the voyage was echoed by a number of participants. Many reported, like in the case of family B, that deciding whether to depart at all was left until the last minute, and the decision was reflective of 'Morocco fever', or seeing that the surrounding community was emptying of inhabitants. There are forces that interfere with this spontaneity, like work schedules that require choosing holiday time well in advance, and plane fares, which can be significantly more expensive when purchased close to date of departure. Following the metaphor, these factors are not anticipated and avoided, but can be accepted as part of the spontaneity of that year's holiday. In interviews

this sense of spontaneity was often expressed affectionately, with laughter, as a characteristic intrinsic to the holiday itself.

This aversion to planning is cited, at its limit, as a significant cultural difference between Moroccans and Europeans[15]:

5.2.2.b. Interview extract: We don't plan

Otman B, Antwerp, 25 March 2008, 50sec		
1	LW	um (.3) are you going this year? or do you kn[ow-
2	O	[inša'allah, inša'allah/ (.) inša'allah.
3	LW	°yeah° always right up to the day, righ=hhh=t, .h hheheh[ehheh (.3) who gets in the car and who doesn't
4	O	[yeah:: w- we don't- we don't plan e- yeah/ we don't plan thin- things like eh: that's eh difference between (.) **us** and (1.2) eh::: Europeans, lik#e (.8) they plan things, like/ **four five** months ahead, #(.8) we do that like/ two days befo=hhh=re=hh=we=hhh # (.) **go**, so::/
5	LW	yeah. I know/ this is my problem now tsseeh[hh
6	O	[yeah? hheheh[hh=
7	LW	[yeah. (.5) ye[ah
8	O	[=that's- but (1.8) **eventually** (.) those are the best eh:::::: vacations, [for me/ I mean like/ something that we do: on the **spot**#. then it begins like eh:: (.8) that's the best vacatio#n/ if we do something we plan ahead # (.7), then it do-::: it (.) it doesn't work out #/ no. doesn't work out. #
9	LW	[mmm mmm

Otman B, Malika's nephew, makes *insha'allah* something special to a Moroccan 'us,' in opposition to European holiday practices. I comment about 'my problem' because, already that March, I was planning for my summer travel to Morocco and had asked Otman about his family's plans to go. Knowing of my intentions, he states that *insha'allah* spontaneity makes 'the best vacation'; planning ahead doesn't work. Although elements of the holiday can be planned in advance – for example, as traveling by air becomes more popular families are buying tickets which create immutable timing – uncertainty is a material part of the sense of being on holiday in Morocco. 'Moroccanness' takes on a spontaneity and unpredictability as part of its defining characteristics in assemblage with an attractor I call *insha'allah*. This attractor emerges as a source of feverish excitement linked with spontaneity and seemingly limitless autonomy in connection to the prospect of visiting Morocco.

15. See page 13 for Transcription Conventions.

5.2.3. Holiday as habit: Becoming an institution through collective repetition

The Moroccan summer holiday has become an institution in multiple senses. Amongst families and diasporic communities in Europe, the holiday has been progressively established as a tradition unto itself, a repeating habit with its own local customs and practices. In a more formal and collective sense, it has become an institution through recognition at the state level and concomitant efforts to facilitate diasporic visitation. Both of these combine in assemblage to feed each other, making the holiday a perpetuating endeavor for members of diasporic communities and an increasingly important and recognized event for the Moroccan state.

One aspect of Moroccan holiday practices, in comparison to other comparable examples, may be the habitualness of return enabled by close proximity and relatively easy travel. Out of the pool of participants, those who visited usually did so on a regular basis, annually or biannually, and were adamant about continuing to visit:

5.2.3.a. Interview extract: It's my place of...

Zakia, Marrakech, 27 May 2008, 30sec		
1	Z	avant d'être marié, je venais **tout** les ans. (.5) il=y=avait pas une année où je venais **pa:s**, dès que je suis **née:**, je suis toujours- mes parents m'ont toujours ramen**é:**, et=c'est=vrai=que =j'ai toujours:: <voulu> re:- revenir eh:/ (.5) c'est=quelque= chose=qu'il me fallait eh- voilà/ il me fallait mon départ au Maroc eh (.) à moins une mois et démi. et=c'est=vrai=que=là= dès=que=je suis mariée avec mon marie bon/ avec le travai:l et tout, (.6) on essaie d'y aller au moins tout les deux ans. (.4) l'année dernière j'ai accouché j'ai pas pu, donc=pour=ça qu'il y a deux ans, euh (.5) on était venu, (.4) et là cet année euh/ (.) je sais que j'allais=pas partir cet été, donc je me suis dit euh-/ (.) je vais venir une semaine et xx mon fils, (.6) mais euh:: (.) c'est=vrai=que=moi je- j'ai besoin de venir eh (.7) ça- ça reste mon pays natale.=fin pas m:::- je suis pas née ici, mais c'est mon pays, euh:: [(1.0) ouais

		before being married, I came **every** year. (.5) there=wasn't=a year when I didn't **com:e**, since I was **bor:n**, I was always- my parents always brough:**t** me, and=it's=true=that=I've alway::s <wanted> to- to come back eh:/ (.5) it's=something=that=I must do eh- there you have it/ I must have my stay in Morocco eh (.) at least a month and half. and=it's=true=that=now=since=I've been married with my husband well/ with wor:k and everything, (.6) we try to come here at least every other year. (.4) last year I gave birth I couldn't, so=that's=why it's been two years, euh (.4) we had come, (.4) and now this year euh/ (.) I know that I=wouldn't depart this summer, so I said to myself euh-/ (.) I will go one week and xx my son, (.6) but euh:: (.) it's=true=that=for=me I- I need to come eh (.7) it- it's still my birthplace.=well not m:::- I wasn't born here, but it's my place of, euh:: [(1.0) yeah
2	LW	[ouais
		[yeah

As Zakia's remarks convey, she took up the habit of annual visits from her parents enthusiastically. Her final thought demonstrates one of the ways *attachment* emerges expressively: she self-corrects at the end of her description that Morocco is not her birthplace – in fact, she was born in France – but does not find a suitable modifier for what Morocco is, to her. It is emotionally important, but in ways that are sometimes difficult to verbally express in simple terms.

Others expressed parallel practices of *attachment* through their enactment of or attitudes about habitual, 'necessary' visits to Morocco. At dinner (9/2/2008, Montargis, France) with Yasmine A, her friend Saliha, Saliha's sister Nadia, and their two Algerian friends Ahmed and Khalid, the conversation turns to the topic of my research and I ask them about their visits to Morocco. Saliha goes back quite often to see family, and she, Yasmine, and the two men are planning a group trip to Marrakech in a few weeks. Her younger sister Nadia, the baby of their family, is looking forward to her planned trip that summer. 'Once,' Nadia says shaking her head, 'I didn't go for two years. It was too much.' Like Zakia, she has to go back every year, it is necessary for her to revisit their hometown Mohammedia, to relax at home.

For each of these women the trip is a necessary event, but with different purposes and constraints. Zakia, quoted above, was used to going every year, but her schedule changed with marriage and added responsibilities. Saliha is in her mid-thirties like Zakia but unmarried; she continues to visit, sometimes multiple times in a year, to see her family and to travel with friends independently, away from the family home. Her younger sister Nadia, in her early twenties, travels with her family to their home but frames the holiday as a source of relaxation time. All of

them echoed the impression of Morocco as a 'birthplace', even if it was not their place of birth; it is a site where they felt rooted and connected to 'Moroccanness'.

While these visits are repeated and habitual for many DVs, they are not framed by the same prospect of eventual permanence as their parents. Many interviewed participants, including Zakia, discussed the possibility of buying property in Morocco. Most were hesitant because of rising property prices and uncertainty about who would care for it in their absence. They generally prioritized buying property in their countries of residence, especially since their parents often had already provided homes to stay in during the summer. On this point their holidays diverge from those of their parents: DVs do not enact this habit as a precursor to an imagined retirement in Morocco, as their parents often did (Schaeffer 2001). Their habits are dependent on the collective of family, friends and community that visit together, making them temporary visitors but very regular.

The habitualness of this journey is a key part of how it contributes to the assemblage of diasporic 'Moroccanness' as a point of attraction for the collective movement towards 'home'. Participation in the annual act of 'going', an institution that continues to shift along with changes in lifecycles, generations, and individual projects, has come to be a defining element of 'being-Moroccan' as much by providing access to the place of Morocco as by congealing the diasporic population in Europe around the ritualistic movement involved in it.

5.2.4. Holiday as institution: Government interventions to codify and monitor diasporic return

Multiple agencies of the Moroccan state have, as part of their domain, responsibilities of governing, monitoring, communicating with and welcoming diasporic Moroccans. These include a number of institutions that have evolved in their purposes, since the former king, Hassan II, first created migrant associations as a means to monitor political unrest (Brand 2006). The most recent body, the *Conseil de la communauté marocaine à l'étranger* (Council of the Moroccan Community Abroad; CCME) founded in 2007, in organized as a cohesive effort from multiple ministries, around promotion of Moroccan Nationals Resident Abroad (MNRA) interests, protection of their rights while abroad, liaising with foreign governments, developing human capital, and 'maintaining strong links with

Moroccan identity, particularly in relation to language learning, religious education, and cultural activity'[16] (CCME 2010).

While CCME promotes transnational projects and linkages, the *Fondation Mohammed V pour la Solidarité* (Mohammed V Solidarity Foundation; FMV), provides assistance to returning diasporic Moroccans, in coordination with the *Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale* (National Security Administration; DGSN), as part of their annual *Opération Marhaba*, or 'Project Welcome'. The FMV is organized around various projects of public service, including aid to returning migrants. The services the FMV advertises to diasporic returnees include help in managing customs forms and roadside assistance on both sides of the border between Morocco and Europe[17]. At the end of each summer, the FMV issues press releases with tabulations of entries recorded from the beginning of June to the end of August, sometimes broken up by port of entry, or mode of entry (boat versus airplane), that are reported in national newspapers and dispersed on websites concerned with MNRA issues.

Figure 13. Article from news aggregator and forum Bladi.net (accessed 9 Sept 2009).

16. *'le maintien de liens étroits avec leur identité marocaine, et plus particulièrement celles relatives à l'enseignement des langues, l'éducation religieuse et l'action culturelle.'*
17. See http://www.fm5.ma/marhaba-documents for the DGSN customs guide and FMV map of rest area help centers for the past several years.

The article describes a 9% increase in MNRA entries from 2007 to 2008, and gives figures of entries by mode of transport (maritime or air).

The national importance of these figures is reflected in their reporting on the state-wide televised evening news throughout the course of the summer. Alongside these figures, the news occasionally reports human interest stories related to the in-flow and out-flow of *Opération Marhaba*, like stories of road closures due to traffic, or interviews with migrants who are happy or unhappy to be returning to Morocco.

The billboards and posters FMV display throughout Morocco, as well as the television advertisements that play on the most popular Moroccan state-run channel, 2M, present narratives of families living abroad traveling 'home' to be welcomed by their families.

Image 2. Poster from FMV Opération Marhaba 2005.

Under the auspices of His Majesty King Mohammed VI, the Mohammed V Solidarity Foundation contributes to the Project Welcome 2005
Happy travels
(Listings of welcome centers with telephone numbers in France, Spain and Morocco. The yellow insignia in the lower left corner is the FMV trademark.)

In these images, representatives from FMV are often aligned with family member roles, being helpful and welcoming caregivers to the returning migrants as in Image 2 above. Televised ads running in 2008 presented images of specific kinds of families participating in the return. In one example, two parents with two (young) children embark from a neighborhood somewhere in Europe (probably France), pursuing an uneventful journey (in ellipsis) towards Morocco, and arriving home across the border, into the waiting arms of their family. A similar ad depicted a family being greeted at the airport, with images of young children running into the arms of grandparent-aged adults.[18]

Images like these contribute to circulating ideas about the return as an event oriented towards family reunion and migrant 'rootedness'. These widely dispersed, government-sponsored imaginations of the holiday present an idea of what it should be: a smooth and unproblematic voyage, culminating in a joyful arrival to a welcoming family. The static advertisements interpolate the agents of FMV as the welcoming family while the televised ads – which can be seen in Morocco and globally on the satellite version of 2M – present recognizable alter egos of diasporic Moroccans who receive that kind of familial, familiar welcome associated with the idea of going 'home'.

Undoubtedly, these images enter into the assemblage of 'Moroccanness' as part of the substance of metaphors of *descent* and *place*. They provide very specific narratives of 'the waiting family' as the motivation for migratory return. Government-disseminated advertisements for diasporic familial *attachment* mix in with private sector ones, like those for banks advertising easier ways to send money to one's family from abroad.

18. These videos could not be found for inclusion here, but see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Rb2bHoVmIY for a 2007 'welcome' video.

Image 3. Attijariwafa bank advertisement. Marrakech, 23 August 2007.

To send money to my loved ones in Morocco, I offer the Kesma card.
Simple, practice and much cheaper!
The Bank of Moroccans without Borders

Yet, like most advertisements, they do not necessarily reflect a grounded experience for the majority of their target audience. They present an idealized version of *descent* and *place* as unproblematically coincident through the 'rootedness' of a family always ready to receive diasporic visitors (and their money). It fits with predominant notions of 'ethnic' or other rooted 'identities' that imagine concomitancy of *descent* and *place* as naturally unified elements. As Nash describes, with reference to ways that Irish-Americans imagine their links with family in Ireland:

> In some respects at least, settler genealogies of Old World ancestry reflect a nostalgia for an imagined time when place, identity, culture and ancestry coincided. Where you lived was where your ancestors had always lived, and there was no dissonance between cultural identity and location. This is the ideal of bounded places, deep roots, and shared culture. The place of origin is the place where subjectivity is untroubled by the reflexivity of modernity and where collective identity is unselfconsciously lived. (Nash 2008, 9-10)

The nostalgic ideal of boundedness, of course, does not hold up: for Nash's participants as well, enactments of return become much more complex interactions

of desires, motivations, expectations, fulfillments and disappointments. The notion of *attachment* to a *place* based on genealogical *descent* or an imagined rooted connection to it through family is inevitably troubled by the unbounded complexity of lived experiences.

5.2.5. Entering into attachment

Attachment thus enters into assemblage in this context, creating attraction towards Morocco through many paths. The dimension of *descent* is central to *attachment*, as a node around which ideas of family and participation in the nation of Morocco collect. Departing on the summer holiday – by following *insha'allah* modes of travel – becomes a way to 'be-Moroccan' in Europe. DVs are pushed and pulled towards Morocco, between habitualness of holiday travel in European communities creating a collective push and government institutions of Morocco drawing them in as welcomed family.

The story of our journey to Morocco that summer reflects forces pushing and pulling DVs towards Morocco through the dynamics of *attachment*. The first part, getting ready to depart, outlines some characters in this story – both migrant and post-migrant generation Moroccans – who desire to 'return' to the 'home' they miss. Some are able, this year, to join the gathering flow of people making the overland journey, while some stand at the sidelines and watch the departures. Some, like Malika B, are drawn into the current. Though she resists the push to depart at first, she eventually agrees both out of her own self-interest – in order to have a holiday away from Belgium – and out of a sense of familial *attachment*, in its affective and obligatory senses. While *attachment* in relation to family are often colored by the desire to have contact with infrequently seen family members, that is, with expressive notions of what 'Morocco' is through 'family roots' or *descent*, the way this journey works reflects tense family relations more often shaped by dynamics of obligation.

5.3. Starting the journey: 'Moroccanness' extending outside state borders

Image 4. One of the children from Family B, ready to go. Antwerp, 11 July 2008, 9:30pm.

5.3.a. Fieldwork narrative: Leaving Antwerp

Our car journey began in the small hours of the morning of Saturday 12 July, after spending the entire day of Friday on hold, prepared to go at anytime.

Negotiations were happening between brothers-in-law Brahim and Abdelhakim about when to begin the journey: Brahim was coordinating with his father as well, and in the end our car (Abdelhakim's small four-door) is ready to depart with no sign of Brahim. We are awaiting news from Brahim outside Abdelhakim and Zohra's house, on a dark, otherwise silent neighborhood street in Antwerp.

Malika and I were delivered here by another cousin, and we manage to insert our bags into the car, whose trunk barely shuts already. Every footwell is taken up with something: food supplies are on the seat between us, as well as pillows and sleeping bags; Zohra has a small cooler by her legs.

Abdelhakim and Zohra's children arrive and mill around with us, saying goodbye to their parents for the one or two months they will be gone. For various reasons – lack of funds, or new babies on the way – none of the children will be joining them in Morocco this year.

Brahim arrives after midnight to tell us his father's car had some last-minute maintenance problems, so they will not be ready until the following day. Souad was so exhausted from packing and taking care of the kids all day that she has crashed at home, while her children are in the car with their father, overexcited about the impending trip. Abdelhakim decides to leave without

them, despite his concerns about the possibility of breaking down on the road. Having a group caravan is safer, but he seems exasperated with Brahim and his family; we have already delayed by a day for them. If we delay any longer, we risk being caught in the French traffic caused by the 14 July holiday weekend. Finally, after a week of waiting and uncertainty, we are on our way in the pitch black. Eventually I fall asleep, and wake up somewhere outside Paris.

The trope of *insha'allah* spontaneity associated with going on holiday to Morocco becomes part of the journey from the moment of departure in Europe, as demonstrated in this narrative. Our departure happened through a series of uncertain events, with many entities adding their agency to the process: Abdelhakim and Brahim; Brahim's father and his car; Abdelhakim and Zohra's children gathered to see us off; and the impending traffic of the hundreds of thousands of cars not yet mobilized cars in France. DV summer holidays consistently begin more or less this way, with progress, setbacks, and some uncertainty, but always Morocco as the end goal.

Embarking on the road generates activity concentrated around the 'rooted', *descent* desire for Morocco as a *place* that comes into view increasingly through the stages of progress along the road. Long before DVs cross the border into Morocco, 'Moroccanness' in assemblage becomes more frenetic and attracting as participants move physically and affectively closer. From departure through the journey, Morocco becomes an increasingly material entity. Still territorially in Europe, our car joined the collective of other diasporic Moroccan cars making the same journey along the roads through France and Spain, experiencing the same preparations, excitement, uncertainty, frustrations, and accidents as we did.

5.3.1. Conviviality on the road: Sharing stops, caravans, and incidents

5.3.1.a. Fieldwork narrative: Rest stop in Spain

Image 5. Rest stop exit sign. Outside Madrid, Spain. 12 July 2008, 9:30pm

> *I don't remember much of France: we passed most of it by night, reaching Bordeaux by midday, and soon after the Spanish border. Abdelhakim drove nonstop, with only intermittent bathroom breaks and snacks, determinedly staying awake to reach our destination.*
>
> *I wasn't sure what our destination was until we approached the outskirts of Madrid around nightfall, and Malika told me we were looking for the Moroccan exit. Once on the right road, we found it: a sign flashed by in Spanish and Arabic, 'Area de descanso y informacion'. It consisted of a an open central area, ringed with picnic tables covered by overhangs and florescent lights, with a hundred or more cars parked orderly around.*

Image 6. Parking at the 'Moroccan' rest area outside Madrid. 12 July 2008,

10:30pm. The snack counter is the lit space in the background.

The lot was effectively full when we arrived around 9:30pm, but Malika's other brother-in-law Walid, who was traveling with his sister, her husband, and their two children, had saved us a place near their car. Although they had left Antwerp long before us, Abdelhakim's nonstop driving had enabled us to catch up. Now we had a caravan partner.

The rest area was minimally equipped: a bathroom with some shower facilities, and a drinks and snacks counter mostly staffed by Moroccans. I was noticeably a rare non-Moroccan visitor. We queued for the toilets (some of which were no longer working because of high demand) along with the other occupants for the night, who eyed each other and chatted in their own languages with their own families.

Image 7. Bathroom door, 'Moroccan' rest area outside Madrid. 13 July 2008, 6:30am. The graffiti includes numbers referring to French départements, along with some French city names and Moroccan city names, and normal claims and insults. The sign in Arabic asks occupants not to throw irregular objects in the toilets.

The single enclosed building, apart from the water facilities, seemed to be a police post that was locked to the general public; I looked in the window

and saw a group of people playing cards, oblivious to the activity outside. We ate some french fries, sodas and coffee from the drinks stand, and settled into sleeping arrangements. We couldn't all recline in the car, so Malika and I took sleeping bags to a picnic table, while Zohra and Abdelhakim leaned their seats back. For midsummer, the night was remarkably cold; I was thankful Malika had thought to pack a sleeping bag for me. Sometime that night, a woman's car was robbed, we learned the next morning; there were some comments in the group about the safety of this rest area, which was safer than other places but still not protected.

Through the years of making this journey (more than 30 years for Abdelhakim and Zohra), drivers participate in and create systems for surviving the trip, and become familiar with landmarks, features, and problems of the route. All the drivers traveling from northern France, Belgium or the Netherlands take roughly the same route, passing through Paris and/or Bordeaux, then near Bilbao, around Madrid, and towards Almeria. Although it is a transitory space, it is co-habited: one is aware of participating in a collective practice by recognizing other cars on the road, both known people and unknown people who are on the same trajectory. One stops for meals and notices other Moroccan families stopped at the same place, engaged in similar activities.

5.3.1.b. Interview extract: Roadside picnics

Naim B and Otman B, Antwerp, 25 March 2008, 30sec		
1	N	whe-when we wer- we were **young,** i-i-i- it took like **four days,** the cars they weren't like/ (.) **quick** like now/ (.4) and we had like eh/ (.4) every time when=we stopped, (.5) they made some **tea::,** and you had like a gas/ eh [how do you call it, eh=
2	O	[yeah (.8) and every parking there was a picnic=
3	LW	=eh xxx? like [yeah xx
4	N	[yeah, (.) yeah/ we=were every- (.8) had a picnic
5	O	=for- for an ho:[u:r or something f- (.) ahhehehehehehh
6	N	[and they made [**food,** (.5) and they made **tagine,** they make **tea**
7	LW	[hhahahahah .hh hah .h hhyeah
8	O	so the picnic- e-::: [is
9	LW	[and you have to talk to everybody **arou::nd,** [and like yeah/ yeah.
10	N	[yea:h, of co[urse/
11	O	[yea:h, it was fun it was something al[l-
12	N	[every stop took like, (.) three hours.

A key element in the creation of this collectivity is that most families eschew commercial roadside services, like restaurants and hotels, in favor of bringing their own food to prepare (and sometimes cooking equipment) and sleeping in the car. As Naim, Abdelhakim and Zohra's son, remembers from his youth, roadside stops were long and elaborate. He describes getting out a propane tank to cook (turns 1-4), which his cousin Otman laughingly remembers as part of the fun of the road. These practices keep Moroccan families collected in visible places on the edge of the service area instead of mixed with the general patronage inside.

The instigating reasons for this are economic practicalities, in that it is prohibitively expensive to feed and lodge a large family (a typical Moroccan family includes four to eleven children) on the road for multiple days. While the time required for this journey has shortened with improved transit and infrastructure from four days to two, these habits of 'Moroccan' rest stops continue for many travelers. Moroccan families choose to stop in service stations that have outdoor areas where they can manage for themselves, rather than structures with plentiful restaurants and store chains. Even at the more developed service areas, Moroccan families might be spotted cooking lunch next to their car in the parking area.

Image 8. Picnicking families at a rest stop, northern Spain. 12 July 2008, 3:45pm. We stopped at this rest area for a bathroom break. There was a restaurant and other facilities, which are in the opposite direction from the perspective of the photograph.

As much as these practices create a collective, cohabited space they also illuminate how Moroccan travelers are separated from ordinary flows of travel through these roads and service areas. They experience difficulties in finding halal food and in communicating with service staff as they pass from country to country. As Yasmine described in my interview with family A (1 Feb 2008), Spain was not very welcoming.

The existence of 'Moroccan' rest areas, like the one described in the narrative above (5.3.1.a) is a materialization of this congregation and insulation. Places like these seem to be funded, at least in part, by the Moroccan government (according to signage on the few buildings there) as a service to returning migrants. It provides a location where Moroccans can access what they look for in other places where it was not provided: to cook outdoors, spend a night in the car, and most importantly meet up with others in the caravan – both family members and other Moroccans on the same journey.

'Moroccan' sites thus emerge predictably along certain routes at locations that become known for hospitality, convenience, or simply being familiar after years of repetition. Their occurrence, however, is always surprising: the locations may be predictable but the events and interactions that might occur there are fortuitous, often unplanned and unplannable. The existence of these sites reinforces the viscosity of diasporic travel towards Morocco by providing spaces where people meet in a 'natural' flow. Yet accidental meetings and encounters fit the *insha'allah* of this timespace as fortuitous, or sometimes incurred by misfortune.

5.3.1.c. Fieldwork narrative: Unplanned stops in recognized sites

> *Malika explains to me that people favor the rest area just after a toll collection along the road, because everyone passes there. The specificity of toll stops makes it easier to know you've arrived at the right place, especially if you are trying to meet up with another car in your caravan.*
>
> *We stop at one such parking area in Spain for lunch and so Abdelhakim can rest in the shade of a tree. During our hour there, I observe (at least) two other Moroccan families en route that have stopped here because of an emerging problem. As we eat at a picnic table, one French group – all young adults, not older parents or young children – parks not far from us, opens their doors and turns on the radio. They seem to be in the middle of an argument: some of the occupants have departed for the toilets while the remaining two continue a heated discussion. They stay parked for a while, apparently waiting.*
>
> *Shortly after that, an enormous white van parks farther down the lot. Eventually another car turns up to join them, but they don't depart right away. The respective back doors are opened, and things start being exchanged from*

one to another; it seems there is a mechanical issue, but I'm not sure with which vehicle. Abdelhakim finishes his nap, and we continue on before they are resolved.

Each of these vehicles, including ours, seems to be on its own trajectory, yet each is linked with others along the road. Caravanning with other family members or other families is a strategy for insuring against the inevitable problems and sometimes serious incidents of a long drive. The two vans that met each other just after the toll plaza, mentioned above, demonstrate the practical reasons to caravan with other vehicles and families in case of mechanical breakdown. Though I could not determine which one had the problem, one vehicle was clearly in trouble and the other was on hand to help.

Part of the delay in our departure from Antwerp was because of Abdelhakim's preference to have a partner on the road. Knowing who else is before or behind you means that there is someone nearby to help a disabled vehicle, or at least be aware that one might be in trouble when you don't reach a next checkpoint. However, partnership can sometimes create more tension than it eases. Amina described the delays and annoyances created by her three car caravan, which included her parents and brother Simo, her aunt 'Khalt' and cousin Sabah, and Sabah's sister, brother-in-law and their children:

5.3.1.d. Fieldnotes: Amina's family trip, 23 July 2008

last day in Hoceima with Amina
She tells me the story about their trip down, building off the problem of cousin Sabah being annoying:
Planning to leave wednesday... Amina and her mom called Sabah and her mom (Khalt) to say be ready at our house at 6pm. 7:30 passed, so they called to find out where they were; Khalt claims she's in Den Haag, with her other daughter, on their way (20-30 mins drive). 9pm passes and still no sign; Amina's father says they should be in France by now.
Khalt finally shows up, Amina goes in the car with the 2 of them [Khalt and Sabah], all [three cars] driving until 7am. After breakfast, trading off drivers to whoever is less tired, but Amina's father is driving straight thru. they make it to outside madrid, when Amina says they should stop to look for a hotel by 9pm so they can find one with enough space for everyone in one place. They find a McDonalds with 2 hotels nearby; most of them eat, while Simo [Amina's brother] eats quickly and goes inside to check about rooms. the cheaper (€52) hotel is short a room, the more expensive (€66) hotel has enough, but the family with kids will have to pay extra, etc etc. They seem ready to take the rooms, but then Sabah insists that she wants to eat too (after everyone else is finished) so they wait for her for a while. Then back to the hotel, where Sabah starts an uproar that they should just keep driving since there's only 3 hrs left (wrong) and that €66 is too much to pay for just a few hours. She convinces her

> brother-in-law, maybe [Amina says] by inflating the price to him and against the wishes of Amina and her branch of the family, they keep driving.
> An hour or so down the road, Simo sees a hotel and slides in before Sabah can say anything. He runs in, checks the prices, and declares that he will stay there, and Sabah can do whatever she wants.

Amina's experience of caravanning cars was a source of frustration for her side of the family from before the moment of departure until they reached the boat. This story involves delays in appointments that create further delays, but also clashes of will in leading the group towards its destination. Abdelhakim was likewise frustrated by unreliable caravanning partners, but relieved of his worry when we caught up with Walid and his family along the way.

Amina's example, however, hints at a generational shift. Each car has one or two parents along with at least two adult children. Although Amina was a passenger, her contemporary and cousin Sabah was driving her own car, carrying her mother, sister, and brother-in-law. As the post-migrant generation become adults they can exercise their own volition in determining the course of travel and how to participate in 'Moroccan' spaces along the road. Their increased power in enacting the holiday journey will likely result in new roadside geographies of 'Moroccan' spaces for journeys. In this example, at minimum, the younger generation effected a stop at a hotel for a night instead of sleeping in the car – a marked difference from my experience with Zohra and Abdelhakim.

Some troubles on the road have heavier consequences. A number of participants narrated vivid memories of frightening incidents, while others attested to knowing someone who had tragic experiences on this route. In their interview, (2 Feb 2008) family A discussed the memorable moment when five-year-old Yasmine was left behind at a late night bathroom stop: with so many passengers in the car, they did not count accurately in the dark. Her brother remembered their father driving in reverse on the highway to return for her. Jamila B (12 April 2008) remembered her experience at age twelve, when her father fell asleep at the wheel early one morning while driving through Spain and their car rolled in the ditch at the side of the road. Luckily, no one was seriously injured, and a passing car saw their wheels spinning and stopped to help. Others mentioned family and friends who had been killed in car accidents during the drive down.

These stories, as much as stories of chance encounters at roadside stops, are part of the *insha'allah* of 'Moroccan' holiday travel. Survivors of these incidents recognize their fortune at not being lost or obliterated on the road. These stories become typical holiday stories, perhaps traumatic at the time, but with distance they become anecdotes about the tense excitement of going to Morocco. All of these experiences, both positive and negative, occur through a collective but temporary space, in shared lines of transit along the known and recognizable route through France and Spain to Morocco. They become part of the 'Moroccanness' of the holiday experience, materially extending Morocco's territoriality outside of its borders onto these cohabited roads.

5.3.2. Being able to tour: Seeing other places besides Morocco

Another significant generational change is the desire and ability to tour places along the way. For the migrant generation, their particular *attachment* to the destination is the main reason to depart; the intervening landscape is simply something to be crossed. Wolbert (2001, 21) observes in looking at photographs taken by Turkish migrants driving from Germany that the duration of the voyage becomes a 'border'; Austria and the former Yugoslavia are unidentifiable images through the windscreen. For the post-migrant generation, whose familial and emotional *attachment* to Morocco is formed differently than their parents, the route holds potential attractions as much as, or more than, the destination.

Many participants complain that their parents are disinterested in seeing any of the beauty of the passing landscape, much less stopping to tour in any of the well known cities they pass through – Paris, Bordeaux, Madrid. As Otman and Naim describe it, their parents are solely focused on the destination:

5.3.2.a. Interview extract: One way ticket

Otman and Naim, Antwerp, 25 March 2008, 30sec		
1	LW	did you ever **stop** (.3) um:: in Spain, like/ to **visit** anything? like
2	O	en: [no/ that's just the last years/ that we:: did that,
3	N	[no
4	LW	mmm
5	O	b::-before it's just (1.4 .hhh) one way (.5 hh) ticket to Morocco/ [so::
6	LW	[yeah

7	N	immediately to Morocco
8	O	that's it
9	LW	everything in between is- is
10	O	not importa[nt hhehhe to our parents, °eh° it is/
11	LW	[yeah

This unwillingness to tour has two primary effects. First, the unseen sites become more desirable to post-migrant passengers who do not have the same 'one-way ticket' goal as their parents. Second, it renders the drive 'boring', repetitious, and therefore disagreeable for some, as one anticipates that nothing 'exciting' (*insha'allah*) will happen. As adults, these two have gone to Morocco by other means than a parent's car – by plane or with friends – which gives them independence of choice with regards to touring along the road. After years of 'one-way ticket' travel, DVs generally have no expectations that their parents would be interested in touring, yet sometimes it happens by surprise.

5.3.2.b. Fieldwork narrative: Granada

> *Leaving the Moroccan rest stop, we were now part of a caravan with Walid's group. We heard from Souad and Brahim during the course of the day, that they had finally departed (along with Brahim's father, mother, brother and two-year old niece). It would be impossible for them to catch us up at this point, except that there was a suggestion floating to stop at Granada to see the Alhambra. Malika had been previously, as had Walid only last year (he said, you think your sister let us stop here without making me see it?) Abdelhakim and Zohra had never been. After some reassurance that it would be simple to find a cheap hotel (Malika knew one) and park the car somewhere safe, it was agreed.*
>
> *We arrived in time for the afternoon visit, parked the cars near the monument and entered with a few open hours left in the afternoon. We wandered through the different rooms and courtyards with other tourists, and it struck me that our group was one of the few who was reading the calligraphy inscriptions.*

Image 9. Reading calligraphy in Alhambra, Granada Spain. 13 July 2008, 1pm.

> *Abdelhakim and Zohra asked me to take a few pictures of them together. We took a group picture in the requisite spot, on the rampart overlooking the Albaycine and the valley.*
>
> *Later that evening, after a nap at the hotel, we walked up to the viewpoint at the top of the Albaycine, where we happened upon the mosque of Granada. Abdelhakim took the opportunity to pray at sunset, while Zohra, Malika and I sat in the square with cold drinks.*
>
> *We continued on early the next morning, but without Walid's group who had left already. Souad and Brahim were approaching as we continued towards the southern Spanish coast. Dragging our feet in order to give them time to catch up, we stopped to wander around and eat a seafood lunch in Marbella. I had the feeling with Zohra and Abdelhakim that they had never taken such pleasure in the 'getting there' of going to Morocco - although Zohra was always smiling, even in the cold in Belgium, Abdelhakim had a new lightness. Maybe this was due to the fact that we were almost there.*
>
> *As the city began to shut down after lunch, we made our way back to the car and Souad started trying to locate us from the highway. After searching up and down a few side streets, Malika spotted her niece out on the sidewalk, and we were reunited. There was Souad, Brahim, their two children and her mother, plus Brahim's parents car, with their other son Norddine and a granddaughter by their daughter. After resting a bit, but finding no café open where we could sit (maybe it was Sunday already?) we organised ourselves to continue driving.*

As this moment demonstrates, a number of factors must align for the older generation to make the decision to stop to tour. Other participants cited the

problems of controlling multiple children, or keeping an overloaded vehicle protected from thieves during the journey as barriers to the possibility of stopping somewhere. Apart from logistical issues, there is also a question of the value of the site to see: the Alhambra is often taken as a detour because its history and origin is 'Moroccan', or based in Islamic history connected to Morocco. That endows the place with some value other than being simply an aesthetically interesting city, or a beautiful coastline – the argument runs that both of those can be easily found in Morocco. In this case, it also let us leave time for Brahim's family car, in which Malika's elderly mother was riding, to catch up with ours

The decision to tour, in the end, must be serendipitous. Walid's daughter Fatiha B expressed her disappointment that her parents had decided to visit the Alhambra the one year she didn't travel with them:

5.3.2.c. Interview extract: Vacation without me

Fatiha, Antwerp, 5 March 2008, 50sec		
1	F	another reason why i didn't go was- because/ well,- (1.0) in=Mo**roc**co, it's always the same/ so- I- (.) **that year** I was (.6) um: (.9) well, absolutely **sure** I wouldn't **miss** anything, (.6) but- (.3) then eventually I **did** miss a couple of things, because it was the first time my parents went to Granada,=hheh and stayed for two day:s, (.4 .h) so:: that was (.5) a bit of a pity though. heheheh=yeah (.5) since I'm the only one who speaks spanish, **yes**/ that was =hh=definitely=hh=hard/ .hh
2	LW	um so wai- um (.7) so they stopped in Granada on the way down? [or
3	F	[.h uh (.6) **yeah** (.) well/ on their way to Morocco
4	LW	that- that's so- that's not (.) **fair,**
5	F	yeah I **know**/ it was the first time I didn't go with them/ to Morocco and it was also the first time they (.) stopped there, and had a bit of a vacation (.7 .h) beforehand hhahh, before going to Morocco .hhh

Interestingly, Fatiha refers to the stop as 'a bit of vacation beforehand', underlining the normal single-minded trajectory of the journey. Although arguably going to Morocco is a vacation, as time taken from work, there are evidently specific ways that individuals feel it is also not a vacation, at least not in the way that doing something like 'touring the Alhambra' is. This problem surfaces as well in terms of imagining vacations to other places besides Morocco:

5.3.2.d. Interview extract: Go somewhere else

Anissa and Shirin, Den Haag, 10 April 2008, 1m30		
1	LW	before, this year/ (.4) um (2.0) what was- (.4) the kind of normal cycle with your family/ you went every year:? every other year:,
2	A	al:most every year.
3	S	ya we went **every** year
4	LW	and it's- **everyone** in the family? no exception? or eh
5	S	**ev**eryone. (.4) **ev**eryone is hh=going=hhehehehe
6	A	no xxx
7	S	yeah
8	A	xx
9	S	<ons> wel but we li- we **want** to go/ so we **like** to go, so that's like, it was not (1,0) *het was niet erg of zo, wij **wil**den juist gaan/ dus eh*:: (1.0) *ja* *it was not bad or something, in fact we wanted to go/ so eh*:: (1.0) *yes* (1.6)
10	LW	[[it's
11	A	[[*nee ja, bij ons was het ook eigenlijk zo dat eh mijn zussen soms ergens anders naar toe wilden* [[*no yes, with us it was actually also that my sisters sometimes wanted to go somewhere else*
12	S	*ja* *yes*
13	A	*naar een ander land* *to some other country*
14	S	*ja dat hebben wij bij **nu** dan. nu we ouder zijn geworden hebben wij dat weer*, [*dat begrijp ik wel*. *yes we have that now. now that we have become older we have that again*, [*I do understand that*.
15	A	*ja, want ik ben ook een keertje niet mee geweest en dat ik naar Portugal ging met vriendinnen en dat zij wel naar [Marokko gingen* (.6) *of m'n zus dat* (.6) *ze naar Griekenland ging/ en m'n ouders wel naar Marokko/ dus*, *yes, because I once did not go with [them] either because I went to Portugal with friends* (female) *and* (=while) *they did* [*go to Morocco (.6) or my sister that* (.6) *she went to Greece/ and my parents still went to Morocco/ so*,
16	S	[*ja*
17	S	*ja dat hebben wij bij nu,* (.) *maar eer-, vroeger niet. vroeger gingen we gewoon mee. en toen wilden we ook meegaan/ nou, vroeger, dan heb ik het over vier jaar geleden/ drie jaar geleden/* (.5) *maar sinds toen is het nu eh nu ga ik ook niet meer elk jaar mee en ehm* *yes, we have that now,* (.) *but earl-, before no. previously we just went along. and also then we wanted to go/ well, previously, then I'm talking about four years ago/ three years ago/* (.5) *but since then it is eh now I don't go along every year anymore and ehm*

18	LW	yeah I know- it seems like that changes arou:nd (.) you know/ eighteen years old/ nineteen years ol[d/ people start to think (.6) like, **I** don't have to go::/ if I don't want to=hhhehehe
19	S	[*ja ja dan begint het. ja/* (1.5) *ja/* (.) *ja* [*yes yes that's when it starts. yes/* (1.5) *yes/* (.) *yes*
20	A	there are more countries than Morocco!
21	S	[[yeah! there are mo::re! rea:lly/
22		[[((LW and A laughing))

Anissa and Shirin are enthusiastic about going to Morocco, and consistently go with their families. Yet they also imagine visiting and exploring elsewhere, as do their siblings, and sometimes act on these desires. Their sequence of answers narrate how these choices are negotiated. At first Shirin is enthusiastic about traveling with her family (turn 9). Then Anissa relates that her sisters were interested in going to another country (turns 11-13) and Shirin comments that, as adults in their twenties, they are old enough now to choose to go elsewhere (turn 14). Anissa then describes some of the other trips that came about: going to Portugal with a group of female friends, and her sister going to Greece when her parents went to Morocco (turn 15). Shirin summarizes how going becomes a choice instead of a requirement as they get older and more independent from their parents, although they still choose to visit Morocco. Finally, they both laughingly agree that there are other countries in the world to see besides Morocco (turns 20-21). Looking out the window along the drive to Morocco is not sufficient to satisfy this desire to see other countries, but abandoning Morocco altogether is not preferable either.

5.3.3. Gaining momentum

Thus, embarkation towards Morocco initiates a timespace in which diasporic travelers see and recognize each other engaged in the collective activity of becoming-Moroccan through visiting. Yet this practice is not straightforward. While they gain momentum, crossing France and Spain as they approach the border, becoming more attached towards their end goal, there are other entities in assemblage diffusing and contradicting this *attachment*. Their collective action acts to bind them together and simultaneously separate them from surrounding entities, like other European travels moving in other directions and their own impulse to travel somewhere else.

5.4. Crossing over: Hurtling towards 'home'

Image 10. Road sign in Spanish and Arabic at the exit for Algeciras, Spain.

5.4.a. Fieldwork narrative: Reaching the port

> *As we departed from Marbella, the excitement began to mount. Indicators flashed to us that Morocco was coming closer: road signs in Spanish and Arabic, so many other cars carrying the same load as ours. We fell into a deep traffic jam on the coastal motorway and tried to keep a lookout for Souad and Brahim's car, to stay close together as we approached the port. Some people pull away at Almeria to take the boat for Nador or Al Hoceima, but we are heading all the way for Algeciras. Once we clear the traffic jam, we stop together to buy our ferry tickets at one of the many resellers along the route.*

Image 11. One of many places to buy ferry tickets along the road past Almeria and Marbella in southern Spain. 14 July 2008, 5pm.

Souad's kids are getting antsy, and need to run around a bit without running into traffic. I help Abdelhakim fill in his landing card, Malika helps her sister with hers. When the tickets are settled, we resume the road.

It feels like we are at the port in no time, cruising on roads that are divided from normal city traffic to draw us straight into the boarding zone. You can see the enormous parking lot that once must have been full of families, but now the process is streamlined: we are herded into the ticketed vehicles for Tangier and queued in columns of other vehicles to wait our turn.

Image 12. Waiting to pass through Spanish border control.

Our car is behind Brahim's father's and Brahim's car.14 July 2008, 6pm.

Image 13. Queued cars, waiting for the ferry to empty. 14 July 2008, 7:30pm

> *The wait drags on, and energy wanes. After two days of driving and sweating in the Spanish heat, I'm dying for a shower and a place to stretch out. I wander around the cars, trying to find new participants as we are all stuck waiting. I'm a bit surprised by the number of cars I see where the passengers are not a family, necessarily, but two or more adults. I bring back coffee for everyone who's still waiting in the car. While I was gone, Malika and Abdelhakim have obtained SIM cards from Meditel, the secondary Moroccan mobile provider, who are giving out free starter SIM packs to anyone who gives their identification details. They have distributors walking through the crowd of cars, and a desk set up on the side. I find a vendor and he gives me one after taking a digital photo of my passport.*
>
> *Eventually a ferry arrives and empties itself of a handful of freight trucks and even fewer cars. Everyone rushes back to their cars, so as to not miss the cue to begin boarding. Finally our car is squeezed in amongst hundreds, on one of the multiple levels of car passage on that ferry.*

Waiting in Algeciras for space on the ferry was previously a significant site of diasporic interaction, a pre-climactic moment on the journey toward Morocco. Dramatic increases in the number of ferries and the infrastructure for receiving passengers has reduced the formerly day-long wait to a few hours at most. Participants remembered waiting at Algeciras with a sense of conviviality and hardship: setting up tents, cooking together, and meeting other DVs as they were sharing the traveling experience with the hundreds of other families parked waiting for a space on the boat. Now, from the moment of entering the port, the atmosphere shifts. Physical separations have been effected between the immediate surroundings (Spain) and those specific actors cohabiting the journey to Morocco in the border zone of the port, breaking the affect of the drive from the affect of the ferry.

As we approach the border, along the Spanish highways past the southern coastal towns, our cohort of Morocco-bound traffic begins to extricate itself from vacationers heading to the resorts. Up until we board the ferry, we are in increasingly cohesive diasporic Moroccan spaces – entities infinitely approaching an asymptotic attractor, becoming more focused in territorial proximity to that attractor. Through the checkpoints and subsequent waiting, each step is marked out as one step closer to Morocco, and one step further from 'being-European.' *Attachment* heretofore has been primarily a positive affect, pushing and pulling towards the border. Now, at the border crossing, other intertwined, negative aspects of *attachment* start to become more apparent. Becoming-Moroccan involves negotiating also 'being-European', through some relevant distinctions that emerge sharply at the border.

5.4.1. Becoming-Moroccan: Identity on paper

5.4.1.a. Fieldwork narrative: On the ferry

> *By the time we arrive in the passenger part of the boat, it's already starting to feel crowded. We find Souad and their mother, who have claimed a table. The men have been dispatched to stand in the queues for entry control: there is one for passports and one for vehicles, and everything must be stamped before we disembark. The bureaucrats are of course horribly slow, but we arrive eventually to the head. There is a little discussion over the fact that Malika didn't bring her Moroccan national identity card, but they stamp her passport as a Belgian tourist and send her on.*
>
> *After that, we are free. The two children are wandering around, each with their own caregiver, to visit all parts of the ferry. Night is falling as we make our way across the strait, and I can feel the exhaustion of the road beginning to hit me, but there are no comfortable places to recline to be found; every space is occupied, the exhaustion is epidemic. Happily, we don't have far to go once we enter Tangier, unlike some cars that have a day or more of driving left before they reach home.*

Crossing over to Morocco on the ferry is a quintessential transitional moment. The Algeciras-Tangier ferry is an official and physical border crossing (as opposed to the Algeciras-Ceuta ferry, where the official border crossing takes place after passing through the Spanish city). On the boat, the environment feels 'Moroccan' and the rules of behavior are 'Moroccan', including those for dealing with bureaucracy. Individuals often reported being or feeling harassed at the border crossing for not producing their Moroccan national identity cards.

5.4.1.b. Interview extract: Identity cards

Said, Paris, 9 Feb 2008, 25sec		
1	S	il dit donne-moi la carte:::: du Maroc, même si tu ne l'as pas il te=dit donne-la-moi! si tu ne l'as pas, il dit va faire un tour et tu reviens/ he says give me your Moroccan card, even if you don't have it he=says give it to me! if you don't have it, he says go around again and come back/
2	LW	mhhhehh
3	S	en gros il t'embête basically he blocks you
4	LW	xx
5	W	et tu revien:s, après il te le tamponne, mais/ (.6) ils aiment pas ça. and you com:e back, after he stamps it, but/ (.6) they don't like it
6	LW	ouais yeah
7	S	ils veulent nous forcer à prendre un peu quand-même la carte:: nationale du Maroc/ (.9) parce=que pour eux::/ (.5) si t'as pas la carte=nationale=du=Maroc=bah=t'es pas marocain/ they want to make us sort of take the Moroccan identity card even so/ (.9) cause for them::/ (.5) if you don't have the Moroccan=identity=card=well=you're not Moroccan/
8	LW	ouais yeah
9	S	voilà (.) même si tu vien:s, eh tous les an:s, rendre=visite au pays/ there you go (.) even if you come:, eh every yea:r, to=visit the country/

Said's recounting of this moment is couched in some of his interpretations of motivations behind the border agents' request for his card. He, like many others, interpret this interaction as a challenge to their 'Moroccanness'. No doubt, the insistent requests for Moroccan-origin travelers to present a Moroccan identity card are linked to ideas of Moroccan citizenship as implicitly *descent*-based. These requests are also, however, part of a bureaucratic process of counting entries in one category or another, for records of border entries that are kept and published amongst different government institutions.

Everyone passing through Moroccan borders is tracked by a unique number. For Moroccan citizens, it is the national identity card number, which is used in many other bureaucratic circumstances. Border agents accept expired national identity cards, as long as they show the identification number. Otherwise, the passport is stamped with a tourist number, just as any non-Moroccan visitor to

Morocco would receive a unique number. Eventually, these numbers will be counted as tourist or MNRA entries into Morocco that summer, as in Figure 14:

TOURISM BASED ON FIGURES

Arrival at frontier posts

Annul evolution of tourist arrivals at frontier posts

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Var(%)
MNRA(*)	2 130 328	2 230 993	2 537 396	2 769 132	2 787 825	2 986 372	3 376 719	3 666 784	9%
France	840 230	877 465	916 147	1 167 088	1 337 204	1 481 610	1 605 503	1 707 055	6%
Spain	200 519	201 258	231 156	317 119	367 811	467 956	540 186	595 279	10%
Germany	196 700	172 860	129 391	141 210	144 200	151 396	159 844	179 037	12%
United Kingdom	135 642	146 511	134 009	150 354	193 552	265 536	338 304	274 762	-19%
Italy	123 628	112 518	100 001	112 807	120 955	140 923	160 047	163 315	2%
Belgium	84 011	83 966	80 062	105 821	125 890	149 531	164 723	173 004	5%
Others	668 932	627 689	633 109	713 182	765 940	915 009	1 062 291	1 119 403	5%
Total	4 379 990	4 453 260	4 761 271	5 476 713	5 843 377	6 558 333	7 407 617	7 878 639	6%

Figure 14. Entries into Morocco, as reported by the Moroccan Office of Tourism (http://www.tourisme.gov.ma, accessed 26 Oct 2010)

Thus, Moroccan citizens who enter without an identity card change the proportion of these figures, and the perceived success or failure of development projects related to MNRA and tourists.

How ever these numbers are eventually used, the interactions when they are recorded emerge as a site where DVs entering Morocco start to experience the negative aspects of being in Morocco. Corruption and inefficiency become linked to Moroccan administrative tasks, and mark the experience of arriving at the Moroccan border.

5.4.1.c. Fieldwork narrative: Winding down

> *Towards the end of our crossing, the bureaucrats processing vehicles abruptly left, with a queue of fifteen to twenty people still waiting. I'm still wandering around, looking for more survey participants as I hear the queue members realize their processors have disappeared and complain to each other.*

Nearly everyone on the ferry seems to be traveling as part of a large group, and each group has one or two small children to look after. There are no silent spaces: as I circle the decks repeatedly, I start running into the same children circling in the other direction, sent away from their exhausted parents to burn off some of their excitement before we land.

Image 14. Crowds and exhaustion on the ferry. 14 July 2008, 10:10 pm Spanish time, 11:10pm Moroccan time

Malika and I are on the top windy deck with her niece and nephew when we start to see the lights of Tangier become bright enough to seem like a city. By this time it is night, the sky is completely dark; I'm not very hungry, but anxious to arrive somewhere, home, to relax.

Moving towards the border builds anticipation of being 'home,' but arrival there brings encounters that challenge its potency as a place of belonging. As we near the end of our journey, we seek somewhere to rest.

5.4.2. Being at 'home': Negative attachment *through mentality*

At this point in the story, now that the destination has been achieved, the cohabitation of the road flows into a different habitation at 'home'. Inasmuch as the 'diaspora' is inherently a community practiced outside the homeland, the sudden presence of this normally absent group changes the parameters of the spatial and temporal relationship between 'diaspora' and 'home'. The *attachment* of 'diasporicness' that was developed outside of Morocco becomes an insulating surface tension that appears in ways diasporic visitors negotiate their normally absent presence in Morocco.

As much as they are imbued with a sense of belonging through *descent*, encounters at 'home' can be stressful, confusing, impenetrable, or demanding. This

negative affective shape of *attachment* binds this surface tension, emerging most strongly in moments where DVs must reconcile a positively charged image of 'home' with actualizations of it upon arrival.

Other investigations into return discuss conflictedness and non-belonging reported by diasporic individuals trying to come 'home'. Two specific studies are concerned with diasporic return for settlement as opposed to holidays, but the themes they report echo in this case as well. For King and Christou's (2009) counter-diasporic Greeks, settlement in Greece can 'invoke feelings of disillusionment and rupture' (2009, 9) as 'the reality of life in the ancestral homeland clashes with the imagined notions of a mythico-historic homeland' (ibid). They cite perceptions of bureaucracy and corruption, and local attitudes about immigration as clusters around which Greek returnees are uncomfortable with the Greece they discover (2009, 10-11). Potter and Phillips' (2006a; 2006b; Phillips and Potter, 2006) accounts of Bajan-Brits enacting projects of semi-permanent or permanent 'return' demonstrate similar challenges to settlement as, in a post-colonial discriminatory reversal, returnees are read and treated as 'both black and symbolically white'.

Stephenson's interviews with UK Caribbeans on temporary visits (2002) reflect a number of parallels with my interview data about difficulties calculating a sense of 'belonging' in the homeland. Feeling themselves to be something other than 'tourists' because they are involved in domestic spaces, his interviewees reported being read by locals as tourists because of their 'foreign ways' (2002, 409). These included aspects of embodimentality, like speech, dress, and tanning, and aspects demonstrating their economic positioning through consumption habits. Being amongst family did not necessarily assuage this source of distinction, as Stephenson explains: '[s]taying with family members may manifest latent forms of social conflict. This was evident in cases where individuals felt obliged and sometimes pressurised to make material contributions' (2002, 413). Stephenson asserts that, '[a]lthough "foreigners" may also be perceived in terms of their economic prosperity and socially distinctive attributes, the responsibilities and obligations involved in visiting relatives indicate that these individuals are socially and culturally dissimilar to tourists' (2002, 414). In other words, he finds that their

investment in the *place* as *descendants*, their *attachment* to it beyond simply as a space of consumption, trumps their positioning as outsiders. Most importantly, he frames this as 'responsibilities and obligations involved in visiting relatives', citing a Maussian idea of the gift in the way diasporic visitors contribute to family households and receive hospitality (2002, 416).

This division emerges as well in diasporic visitors attitudes about the people they encounter at 'home.' 'Mentality' is a term that came up again and again in interviews, with participants from diverse backgrounds and across languages, as a vague and broad reference to a specific 'Moroccan' way of thinking that is markedly different from their own. In each case, it comes up in reference to a sense of distrust of individuals, institutions, or representatives of government institutions. My conversation with Jamila B demonstrates how 'mentality' was often repeated, but not attributed to a specific dimension of difference:

5.4.2.a. Interview extract: You can't trust them

Jamila B, Den Haag, 12 April 2008, 30sec		
1	LW	but in- in::: Belgium. (.) when you were growing up/=you could go out, by your[self? yeah,
2	J	[yeah! yeah, (.8) to the: **city**::, go to **work**, go to **school**, alone/ (.8) yes/I mean::e:- (1.8) *je **kent** het land, ook eh/ je bent geboren dar, dus/* eh: yo- eh- you know everythi::ng eh there. (.5) and in Morocco you **don't**, (1.0 .h) they have eh: another mentality [eh: too, (.6) e:::m: (.) eh:: you **can't** eh:m/ (.9) it's- it's a little bit hard to say it but you can't **trust** them/ =
		*you **know** the place, also eh/ you were born there, so/*

I had posed Jamila questions about the strictness of her parents' rules in Morocco in comparison to Belgium. In her answer to the last one (turn 2) she makes a very frank statement about mentality, that she feels she cannot trust resident Moroccans. She first contrasts how she could go out easily in Belgium to her previously described trepidation about going out alone in Morocco. Her distrust is a feeling she cannot explain, encompassing various dangers of Moroccan 'mentality' that emerge in a general public space. In the way Jamila describes it, 'mentality' is something she finds in place, a major difference between Belgium as a place she knows and Morocco as a place she does not know. Similar disconnections in 'mentality' were testified to by others from the moment they enter

the country, starting with border agents demanding a Moroccan identity card and creating tension about belonging.

Border agents are not the only government representatives implicated in negative affects of 'mentality.' The systematic extortion by police of DV drivers was also a common complaint. In this conversation at a café in Al Hoceima, the language shifted from English to Dutch as Fedwa told Amina and I a story about her brother being stopped by the police:

5.4.2.b. Interview extract: They won't come back

Mimount, Fedwa and Amina C, Al Hoceima, 22 July 2008, 1m10s		
1	M	wat voor moeilijkheden hebben jullie meegemaakt dan onderweg/ een keer/ what kind of difficulties did you meet then on the road/ once/
2	F	moeilijkheden? (4.2) nee, over die politieagenten/ die zomaar gewoon mense:::n aanhouden en gewoon, ((deep voice)) je **licht** doet het niet. (.4) T-- zei **#** l- e- m'n licht doet het nu wel, heb je nog wat?= difficulties? (4.2) no, about those police officers/ that just takes aside peo:::ple and like, ((deep voice)) your **light** is not working. (.4) T-- said **#** my light is working now, is there something else?=
3	M	jea yeah
4	F	=pa**pier**en, waar is je **rijbewijs**, waar is dit, waar is dat, dus zegt ie op <een=gegeven=moment> hier heb je [ook nog de **douane**papieren ja, daar wordt je gewoon misselijk van/ toch? =**pa**pers, where is your **driving license**, where is this, where is that, so <at one point> he said here are [my **customs** papers also yeah, it just makes you nauseous/ right?
5	M	[oh::/::::,
6	A	ja, als het elke keer gebeurt yeah, if it happens every time
7	F	ja! yes!
8	A	ja. (.7) maar dat do[en ze elke=keer bij de jongens,[(.) mannen/ en zo, vooral jon- jonge jongens, (.4) ze willen gewoon geld, (.7) meestal/ ik ga 't maar niet te hard! yes. (.7) but they do[that every=time with the boys, [(.) men/ and so, especially youn- young boys, (.4) they just want money, (.7) mostly/ I better not ((talk)) too loud!
9	LW	[*this is your brother?*
10	F	[*yeah* ((F and M laughing .6))
11	M	nou, dat is gewoon zo, well, thats just the way it is,

12	F	nee nee/ maar: i-i-ik vind 't gewoon een beetje lullig, dan komen ze hier hun vakantie **doorbreng**[en dan=worden ze iedere keer om de haverklap **aan**gehouden/ dat ik denk van ja, zo:/ krijg je ze niet vaker binnen/ je moet[ze echt anders gaan aanpakken ehheeeheheehe no no/ bu:t I-I-I find it just a little **stu**pid, they then come here to spend their vacati[on then=every=time, every time like clockwork they are taken as**ide**/ which makes me think yeah, so:/ this is how you won't get them in more often/ you will[really have to treat them differently ehheeeheheehe
13	A	[vakantie, worden ze elke keer (.) **aan**gehouden (.) ja [vacation, they every time get (.) taken as**ide** (.) yes
14	A	A: [nee (.6) ja, maar ze **mog**en zulke dingen niet meer doen [no (.6) yeah, but they are not **allow**ed to do such things anymore
15	F	nee dat=weet=ik, er zijn al een aan al **verander**ingen, [en dat zie je ook/ (.7 .h) ik bedoe:l/ Al Hoceima moet je kijken hoe Hoceima er nu d'r bi:j eh:[:: is. no, I=know=that, there are already some **chang**es, [you can see that also/ (.7 .h) I mea:n/ Al Hoceima you should look at how Hoceima looks like eh:[:: now

Fedwa starts off describing general police behavior but quickly begins a story about a being stopped by the police and their questioning of her brother T---. First the police cite a non-working tail light, which her brother knows to be working (turn 2). Fedwa's punctuation of her brother's disagreement with the police with a loud slap of her hand on the table adds emphasis to the disagreement in her story. Then, the police continue to demand papers – she lists his driving license and other unnamed documents. To conclude the story, Fedwa describes her brother proffering the customs paper as well – the form that imported cars are required to carry to prove their tax status as visitors in Moroccan. This reply underscores that the source of trouble is foreign status and not any actual malfunction of the car. She finally comments that the whole thing nauseates her (turn 4).

Amina shows her agreement by confirming the accuracy of Fedwa's story and elaborating on it (turns 6 to 8). She makes explicit the understood impetus for being stopped, that is, looking for a bribe, particularly from young men. Amina's sense of institutional distrust extends into the context of the conversation: speaking Dutch in a very popular café in the center of town, she censors herself for criticizing 'too loud.' This conversational move refers to potential overhearers and

the real possibility of retribution for making negative comments about the government.

In response to Amina, Fedwa makes her opinion of this behavior more explicit: that it must change or young men will no longer choose to visit Morocco (turn 12). Amina again shows agreement by echoing Fedwa during her turn (turn 13), then pointing out that police have already been warned against such harassment (turn 14). Finally, Fedwa agrees with Amina, by starting a theme about visible changes in Al Hoceima incurred in the past few years (turn 15). 'Things are changing' was repeated in other interviews and stories, as reflective of signs of institutional shift towards bureaucratic improvement – from paving more roads and to 'mentality' improvements like preventing police from exacting bribes.

Yet, these kind of 'mentality' differences can become a site of profound disaffiliation from 'Moroccanness' as place:

5.4.2.c. Interview extract: It's not my country

Naim B and Otman B, Antwerp, 25 March 2008, 1m15s		
1	N	I have **really** the feeling that they don't like us. the- they **really** don't like us. (.8 .h) they just li- they just like our **money**, (.4) and then we have to go/ (.) that's it. (.6) just when you- ((swallowing 1.3)) y=know I- I have **two** stress moments in Morocco. one wh- when we arrive in Morocco, (.) for you=know [from: the bo- yeah the customs, (.4) and then when we go back.
2	LW	[the:/ customs, yeah (.) yeah I know about th-
3	LW	cause the-/ I know:: I- I've heard stories about like/ they hassle you: particularly, (.5) to ha- **see**: your::/ carte nationale, from Morocco, and things like that/
4	N	yea::h, ok: that's no problem/ but- but (.6) eh::m (.) then they sa:y like ok/ they have a lot of stuff in your **car**, and you say:::/ y=know/ and then they say ya **op**en **everything** or give me some money. [they really- (.4) the corrup[tion is everywhere. and- and- (.6) and also, (.5) not like that- also, if we<'re> just on the **streets**, and- and-/ the **police** (.7) eh pull us **over** and say yeah/ we're driving **t:oo much**, (.7) ah no [**too fast** and even- and that's **not true** but he just say then he say like ok/ just gimme some coffee[. something to drink a coffee, and then/ (.5) # ya an- these are- those are th- the moments that we **reall:y ha:te** Morocco/ (1.1) **reall:y ha:te** you know like/ in my heart, I=say=like/ this country is not my country. ffft.
5	LW	[mmm
6	O	[mmm,

7	LW	[too fast, yeah/
8	LW	[fteehhh

Naim's first turn here was in response to a line of questioning about whether or not they felt welcome while in Morocco. Both Otman and Naim framed their answers in relation to perceived economic differences between themselves and resident Moroccans, that result in their sense of exclusion. In this extract, Naim shifted the parameter of his response from economic position in relation to the general population to discuss sources of distrust and harassment by government representatives. He describes similar police behaviors to those Fedwa and Amina described above. Naim relates his reaction to these behaviors – being extorted at the border or by the police – as a profound feeling of disconnection from Morocco. Belonging here becomes a function of place, and practices that are 'Moroccan' but diverge from *attachment* through *descent*.

The current of distrust runs counter to positive affective iterations of *attachment* which frame the imagined unproblematic insertion of DVs into Morocco during the summer. It is no coincidence that the encounters prompting distrust tend to occur in contexts where DVs are easily identifiable – crossing the border with foreign passports, or in cars, marked with European license plates. Jamila's general sense of distrust, however, demonstrates that the negative associations with 'mentality' are not limited to institutional encounters. Despite a profound sense of *attachment* to Morocco through *descent*, DVs are wont to sense their distancing through *place*, emergent in tense and distrustful encounters, from the moment they cross the border. This distrust may be concentrated on individuals representing governing institutions, but it is present with the general public and sometimes within the family as well.

5.4.3. Whose home?: Inhabiting unoccupied property

Returning 'home' implies a negotiation of settling in a space, whether that is in the house of an extended family or in a house that has been built by parents as a holiday or retirement home. These spaces may be already physically occupied, in the sense that family homes are inhabited by family members, or they may be left and maintained as empty for the purpose of return visits. Either of these options

involves negotiations among family members (and others) about who can or cannot occupy a 'home'.

5.4.3.a. Fieldwork narrative: Arriving home

The cars finally begin to file off the ferry. Malika's mother Aziza has a lot of difficulty being safely navigated to their van, as the crowd rushes and pushes down the narrow stairs to the car deck. Malika gets angry at the chaos and lack of provision for the elderly as we wait our turn to start the engine. Once we clear the gangplank, we get in another line, for the customs agents. They open the trunk cursorily, examine the vehicle papers and our passports that were all stamped on board, and wave us through reasonably quickly. Unfortunately, the rest of the group is not so quick: Souad and Brahim are held up because Brahim's father is held up. We park just past the exit of the port to wait for them to be sent through.

Brahim's father's car arrives first. They stop to check in with us, then head directly home. Brahim's brother would be leaving again shortly - he had only come to help his father drive, and had a plane back to Belgium the next day or the day after. Finally, Souad and Brahim emerge, and we caravan to the apartment where we will stay.

Malika had been telling me since Belgium that we would have to clean for three days before the apartment is livable – it attracts so much dust and dirt with the owners in absence, and they had been absent for quite a while – but when we arrive the state of the apartment is not the problem. Malika's family owns the building, and rents two lower floors to local tenants, one of whom has started using the garage without permission. When we open the door, expecting to back the van in and leave its contents safely there overnight, we discover a small truck in the way. The four active adults spend half an hour unloading children, baggage, and supplies to the third floor apartment. Abdelhakim and Zohra leave us to it, and depart to their own apartment which is also in an unknown state.

By this time, midnight has long passed. Once we have everything upstairs, we attempt to unravel the puzzle of which pieces of stacked furniture go where, and where each of us will sleep for that night. The problem is compounded by the suitcases blocking pathways, and the overexcitement of the children, who are discovering 'Morocco' for the first time. Eventually we make it to bed, Malika and I in one room, Souad, Brahim and the children in another, and Aziza in her usual place in the middle room.

Image 15. The room where Malika and I slept. Tangier. 16 July 2008

Nearly every DV with whom I had contact was accustomed to staying in a property built by his or her parents as a holiday and retirement home. This was commonly declared the first and most important project of the migrant generation, who directed all their saved income towards enhancing the property, sometimes to the extent that they would forego holidays until it was finished. Some parents continued to build additional properties after the first, either in the same city or elsewhere, to have additional vacation homes or to be used as rental properties.

This property, the diasporic house, is not necessarily located near the ancestral or family home. Particularly if the migrant generation members come from a difficult to reach, rural village, building a new house there may have been impractical or inconvenient, or land may have been unavailable. Principal cities in regions of heavy out-migration, like Tangier, Tetouan and Al Hoceima, have experienced enormous development in the past thirty years, mostly due to migrant building projects (Agoumy 2007). Such cities have become sites of return for families who migrated from a nearby village.

These diasporic houses, structures that stand empty for ten to eleven months

of the year, are at risk for general maintenance problems on a physical level and beyond. In cases where they are concentrated in a neighborhood development, they can create a vacuum of social life (Agoumy 2007; Walton-Roberts 2004). In addition, they compound infrastructural problems by creating quick development with a fluctuating volume of residents (see Image 16).

Image 16. Headlights and pedestrians on a main street in Al Hoceima, during one of the repeated summertime blackouts caused by overtaxation of power resources by diasporic visitors. 4 August 2007, 9pm

Mohammed Raji, of the University of Tetouan showed me diasporic-built neighborhoods stretching Al Hoceima to its western, eastern and southern limits (see Image 17).

Image 17. Partially unfinished houses built by out-migrants on the edge of Al Hoceima, as indicated by M. Raji. 31 July 2007.

The unoccupied status of these structures also leaves open possibilities for problems with extended family members (or others), who might see the empty house as an available home when its owners are not there. Coming back to this house often requires renegotiating ownership of the property, meaning that either the DVs or locally resident Moroccans are pushed out of a space they may consider to be rightfully 'occupied'. This was the case in our discovering the garage to be occupied; but in this case the tenant removed his vehicle within a day or two. Others recounted stories of more serious impingements on properties and ownership, often by family members.

One such story involved a family from a small village near Al Hoceima. After their house in the city was finally completed, the father entrusted a cousin with the key to take care of it during the year, and stay there if he liked. When they returned the next summer, the house was a mess, with evidence left of illicit behaviors like alcohol consumption and having female guests. After that, the father reclaimed the key and refused to allow permission for any other family member to use the house as a domicile. In a more dramatic case, one participant's father built a second property in Morocco and gave the key to a cousin and his wife as

caretakers, who then occupied it as their own and refused to leave. Another similar story involves local family members who took advantage of the long absence to sell off furnishings left in the house. These stories were volunteered at different points during participant observation, by participants whom I met multiple times over an extended period. Such stories showing family members as actors with a negative 'mentality' were sometimes alluded to, but not told in interviews.

Stories like these reflect how differences in economic position, as a result of migration, become relevant in family relations when diasporic visitors become present after long being absent. Diasporically resident family members demonstrate wealth, whether purposefully or inadvertently, by buying property and constructing homes. They often perceive these to be their own property, a product of their own economizing and dedication, and subject to their own individual control. Locally resident family members may perceive an unfulfilled obligation on the part of the economically successful migrant to provide material comforts for their family members at home – to demonstrate their *attachment* by fulfilling obligations to family.

5.4.4. Being with family: The contentious pull of obligation

While one of the commonly declared motivations for this holiday is visiting with resident Moroccan family, practices reflect how this project is a complex expression of *attachment*. As with the tenuous occupation of the diasporic house, family relationships are sometimes neglected by prolonged absence. Relationships may develop or fail to develop at a distance, and kin links that may be more important if resident in Morocco are rendered less relevant by distance in *place*. While DVs do see family in Morocco, their contact with family members tends to elicit negative aspects of *attachment*, as a force that, once they are in Morocco, can restrict their movement through obligations felt towards family members.

The obligation aspect of *attachment* often manifests as a relationship of material reciprocity between diasporic family members and those who stayed behind. As exemplified through diasporic houses above, it is a relationship marked by frustration for returnees. Stephenson cites Khan's (1977) data on Mirpuri migrants in Bradford, who, in order to avoid the donations they were expected to make to family households would stay in hotels during visits 'home' (Khan 1977,

cited in Stephenson 2002, 414). Henry and Mohan (2003) and Mohan (2006) illustrate how the web of economic obligation can be embedded in the migratory project from the beginning, as migration journeys are funded as investments with expected returns and inherent obligations to care for remaining family. While such notions of economic reciprocity might seem more applicable to the migrant generation themselves, they seem to extend into future generations. For both Stephenson's (2002) and my own participants, post-migrants experience pressure for economic contributions to familial households at 'home.'

These obligations also emerge in contexts of morality or culturally mandated respect. Velayutham and Wise (2005) discuss translocal enforcement of a moral economy, where failure to participate in practices of marriage or other social obligations by diaspora members engenders stigma in the home community. Wise and Velayutham (2008) likewise identify 'second-generation' community members who experience pressure to conform to marriage practices of their village in the Tamil homeland, though the marriages might take place outside of that space. Thus, such obligations of *attachment* are not exclusively economic, but involve other relations of reciprocity and respect for practices of *descent*. These obligations of *attachment* are textured in ways that influence visitation habits and choices of whom to visit while at 'home'.

Obligatory respect operates as an agent that guides and sometimes restricts DVs' independence or choices of what to do while on holiday. As a university-aged single woman, Fatiha B still joins her family regularly to travel to Morocco, but is old enough to determine her own daily activities during the holiday. As she describes below, obligations towards her family are one of the ways her vacation is interrupted:

5.4.4.a. Interview extract: It's hard to be friendly

Fatiha B, Antwerpen, 5 March 2008, 2mins		
1	LW	a lot of people I talk to complain about kind=of (.) the **pressure** to:- (.7 h) to::/ (.5) spend time with family there, (.) but you all- your family i[s here too so it xxx
2	F	[no. (.) so the- no:! um- we- if: my family from Belgium goes **there**, we would meet um: at the beach as well,=
3	LW	mmm

4	F	=not t- to meet family, or we're not going- **we** don't go to morocco to meet family/ we're going to Morocco just- because/ my father likes Morocco and, well/ we, (.) as well, .h um: (.6) but=no=not the pressure of meeting family, .hh um:: (1.3) but- (.) for=example if we would be at **home** and there's family sitting there, already, um:: (.6) it de**pends** on who it is. if it's family from Belgium or Holland, then they would go- go with us to the beach, (.) if it's family from Morocco, itself, then u:m: (.8) we would **hope** that they **won't** (.6) want to go with us! hh .hh ahhehh
5	LW	hh=why=hh?
6	F	ahhehh .h it's very annoying to- (.7) um (.3) like (.3) **socialize**, with people you don't (.) really want to **know**. ahhhehhh .hh I know it's a bit **mean**, but ahhehh .hh I'm not very intere-, I mean, you=know/=ok, it's **fam**ily: an:d (.) but- I don't feel that- (.4) u:m (.7) that kind of **tie** like (.) I have with family, that lives **here** because I know them **better**, .h um:: (.8) but usually (.4) the people who come (.) to visit my grandfather are much older. hhehh .hh (.) sometimes they would bring their kids, but- (.) we would just (.) avoid them ahhehhhe [.hh
7	LW	[they are not interested in going to the beach anyways, [hehehehhe
8	F	[ahhhehhhehh .hh hh I would hope so=hhehh no but sometimes they just come to have their vacation as **well**, and that's a bit (.) **hard** because (.7) um:: (.3) you **could** do that a couple of times/ like invite them (.5 .h) u:m to go **with**=us to: a **vil**lage to have a drink or to eat/=
9	LW	mm hmm
10	F	=um: (.) but not **all** the time/ then you have to be **friendly** all the hh=time=hh .h and that's hh=**hard**=hhehh .hh especially if you don't know them,

Fatiha's perspective reflects a combination of her age and familial situation, as well as her own volition of how to spend her time in Morocco. As I say in my question (turn 1), the majority of her family is in Belgium. Seeing family thus is not one of her main goals in traveling to Morocco. Yet, she seems more enthusiastic about seeing her Belgian family (who lives 'here,' in Antwerp where the interview took place) than her resident Moroccan family (turn 6). She describes ordinary social situations, like going out for a drink in a village, as difficult because of the effort it takes to be friendly with these relatively unfamiliar family members (turns 8-10).

She also describes a context that implies her obligation to socialize with resident family. Being at home, in her diasporic house, with family sitting there – understood as family who has come to visit them – introduces an obligation on her

as a daughter to be present, entertain and provide refreshments for guests, or take them along when she goes out (turn 4). Elsewhere in this interview, she described her plans to go out being foiled by the arrival of relatives to greet her family, whereas her brother escaped these duties. Other DVs, particularly women, echoed these sentiments, both in terms of one's obligation to stay at home when relatives arrive, and obligations to visit family members as an expression of love and respect. Given that many Moroccan families are large, visiting all family members of equal status can be time- and energy-consuming.

Fatiha recounted in great detail an aunt whose continuous presence at her diasporic house engendered both her annoyance and her pity. This older, unmarried aunt had had a very difficult life, and survives as a ward of another uncle. When Fatiha's family comes to Morocco, she arrives at their house not long after they do and stays until Fatiha's father (Walid) decides to return her home. She helps Fatiha's mother, Lubna B, with housework – more voluntarily than Lubna's daughters do – and takes care of Fatiha's grandmother, but she creates sticky social situations for Fatiha. Her aunt's presence becomes an constant obligation: either to invite her to go out with her and her sisters, which becomes an awkward outing, or to take care of her as an elder at home. Her presence is part of what Fatiha must bear as she continues to practice the holiday as a family member in her parents' diasporic home.

As DVs get older and gain more autonomy in their holiday practices, they are able to evade the forms of familial obligation they do not want to participate in. This ability to avoid is also linked to gendered household responsibilities. In opposition to Fatiha, a young, single woman who is expected to contribute to her mother's housework necessities, Mounir is a mid-thirties, single man who visited Morocco with an intention to see family, but traveled separately from his family. Mounir was accompanied by three friends on their month-long touring holiday in Morocco, and they were planning their stops spontaneously (*insha'allah*) as they moved from city to city. In discussion with his friend on their next step, he interjected that he was due to visit his parents in his provincial hometown. The friends began a conversation negotiating Mounir's use of one of their two cars and the time he would spend at home with it:

5.4.4.b. Interaction extract: *Comme ça c'est fait*

Mounir, Friend and Other friend, Fes, 28 July 2008, 40sec		
1	M	faut voir <avec> mon daron s'il a pas besoin de la voiture aussi/ c'est ça? I have to see with my pops if he doesn't need the car also/ is that it?
2	O	voilà, pis toi tu rentrerais avec le:: Scenic, pou:r trois quatre jours comme tu comptais faire, comme ça c'est fait et tu passeras [xx xx that's it, at worst you'll go back with the:: Scenic, fo:r three four days like you thought you would, like that it's done and you'll pass [xx xx
3	M	[tu vois [you see (4.3)
4	M	[[j'rappellerai mon père ce=soir (.9) **ah**? [[I'll remind my father t=night (.9) **ah**?
5	F	[[après c'est à part- ouais, si tu veux y aller, presque/ [[after it's separat- yeah, if you want to go, almost/ (.5)
6	M	hein? what?
7	F	[[ou tu restes [[or you stay
8	M	[[(v)oilà: mais en même temps **ouais**, je vais rester deux trois jours vers chez moi là-bas (v)oilà. comme ça c'est fait, tu vois? [[that's i:t but at the same time **yeah**, I will stay two three days at my house there there you go. like that it's done, you see? (5.8)
9	O	ouais si tu fait ça, c'est pour euh pas rater deux jours ici de=plus, quoi c'est tout (1.1) ici eh: tu [ferais yeah if you do that, it's for uh not losing two days more here, yeah that's all (1.1) here eh: you [will do
10	M	[ah na- mais comme ça au pire tu (v)ois je vais à Ksiba::, et comme ça c'est fait::, pis qu'après je peux bouger, voilà/ [oh no- but this way at worst you=see I'll go to Ksiba::, and like that it's done::, at worst then after I can move around, there you go/

The way this conversation plays out, Mounir and his friends discuss the logistics of Mounir's passage to his parents house so that it will provide the least interruption to their collective vacation. His friends make suggestions for scheduling and routes, so that Mounir can get his visit 'done' and move on to meet them at their next destination, Marrakech. Mounir's conclusion to the topic, 'like

that it's done' (comme ça c'est fait) construes the family visit as a duty to complete, so he can return to his own holiday movements.

Yet Mounir makes this concerted effort to visit his parents while on holiday. His visit is specifically to his parents – not his resident Moroccan family – whom he might also see in France during the year. His sense of obligation is entrenched in familial respect, but not shared to all of his extended resident family. Other DVs reported similarly that they are concerned with visiting Morocco out of respect to their parents. Sometimes seeing grandparents or specific favored older relatives was connected to this motivation, but often distance in place had rendered these relationships less important.

In other words, seeing family is just one potential pleasure amongst others, but not a motivation on its own. For both Fatiha and Mounir, family is part of the holiday, but a limited part: purposefully limited so that they can be on the move and enjoy themselves. The desire to return involves precise calculations of benefits and detractions that incorporate elements of both family and leisure: of what can be tolerated in terms of family visits and what can be escaped.

5.4.5. Actualizing home

As much as going 'home' is enmeshed in 'Moroccanness' produced in diasporic communities in Europe and practiced through the act of departing from there towards Morocco, it also necessitates negotiating mentalities and obligations that become points of dissension after crossing the border. Like any return 'home,' temporary or permanent, desires to belong are both satisfied and unmet, inasmuch as 'home' is never the uncomplicated, static space it is imagined to be while away (Brah 1996; Massey 2005). The practices and encounters portrayed here outline how 'home' is actualized as DVs cross the border into Morocco in negative iterations of *attachment*, in ways that they cannot escape 'Moroccaness' as opposed to ways that they embrace it.

5.5. Return trajectories: Perpetuating rootedness through visits or losing the habit

Inasmuch as being in Morocco offers mixed experiences of being at 'home,' the practice of annual return becomes unsteady. As much as diasporic Moroccans

attested desires to visit, not all of them did. A mixture of rationales were given for not going, from changes in marital or parental status, to financial priorities, to simply wanting to visit somewhere else instead. Yet the potential to visit is always present, as among one's diasporic family someone packs the car to go every year.

This section reviews some of the ways the annual holiday is construed as affectively obligatory – something that has become an ingrained habit – and the ways that habit becomes less important as priorities or attitudes about Morocco shift over individual lifetimes. This involves considering how DVs themselves experience 'Moroccanness' by going to Morocco, as well as how they imagine perpetuating that experience, eventually or actually, for their children. In ethnomethodological terms, this data is read as parallel streams, between what these individuals say they do, or say they imagine for their children's experience, and what they actually do to practice 'being Moroccan' through going there on holiday.

5.5.1. Exploring roots: Where is 'home' located?

Undeniably, part of what DVs seek in going to Morocco is a connection with *descent* by being in the *places* associated with their rootedness in Morocco. This notion resonates with generations beyond the migrant and post-migrant, as documented in work on roots or heritage tourism (Basu 2004; Clifford 1997; Coleman *et al*. 2004), in which visits are motivated by a search for an 'authentic' connection to ancestors through experiencing a place of origin. Nash describes it has having, for many, 'the religious intensity of a pilgrimage' (2008, 70) through embodying and performing imagined connections of ancestors to a landscape and situated culture. The directionality of this journey for her participants is often targeting a specific town or homestead, made distant through migration and the passage of generations.

For those who return as children of migrants, the parental or grandparental house is often a familiar reference point of the visit – a normal destination at the end of each regular journey. Given that normalcy, visiting elsewhere in Morocco becomes a coveted experience, to get away from the family home and learn about one's own 'culture'. To the extent that visiting Morocco is motivated by rootedness through *descent*, the *places* where roots can be found are negotiated along multiple

dimensions. Where DVs actually travel to visit 'home' might include the diasporic household, other familial households, ancestral homes, or historical sites around Morocco. Decisions about where to go incorporate access to resources, like time and money, and practical considerations, like convenience, as much as they are based in affective desire for 'home'.

The ancestral home itself may not be a regular site for family visits with DVs and their parents. For some participants, going to a family house is a multi-sited notion: a grandparental or family home site might be in a more remote or rural location while the diasporic home was in a nearby, more accessible town or city. Thus, going 'home', in relation to familial connections, can mean the newly built house or the older one, each with its own associated memories and significances.

5.5.1.a. Interview extract: Up to the mountains

Otman B, Antwerp, 25 March 2008, 2mins		
1	O	I like to go to where- where eh: (.3) my pap- parents actually:: **came** from/
2	LW	mmm
3	O	so/ up the mountains (.4) untouched by the: outside **wo:rld,** #(1.0) e:m:: cause m:- my father isn't eh: (.6) one of the city people. (1.3) like- (.7) he lives up eh: in the moun- eh: he **lived** there/
4	LW	mmm
5	O	so in the past, (.6) eh::: when he was about sixteen then, he came to eh (.7) from the- the mountains to the big city world in- in Belgium/
6	LW	yeah
7	O	he didn't even see the big city world in hh=Morocco=hh so:: hho .hh em:::: but I- I **love** it like there's like, eh:: there's (.5) every traditional **thing,** (.8) it's just the same like us/ it's untouched, like eh: we- we do them in the city,
8	LW	mmm
9	O	but ehm:: (.) the things we do::, it's all from:: (.6) traditionally from the mountains/ so: # em::: we don't differ (.8) like- **that** much. (1.3) just (1.5) different **places** that's it
10	LW	yeah
11	O	so: (.) I love it like/ (.) in the mountains
12	LW	yeah/ yeah. um (.) and when go up there/ is it- is it (.4) like usually to family house? or::

13	O	no um:: I went there- just- just to: be sure, hhhehh cause eh: (.7) just to let=you=know=I=mean, eh::m I just went there like ffhhhh/ two or three times, (1.2) and eh::: that's the::: thing that always (1.2) **stayed** with me/ so::
14	LW	mm
15	O	and then- (.6) when I grew up that just **diff**er<ed> like eh:/ I just w[ent with my cousins, so everything what **they** did, **I** did. so eh: I was like a sheep
16	LW	[ah.
17	LW	oh, so this is l:ong ago, [when you were
18	O	[this was (.) l::ong ## ago/ I tried to go:: the- this past year, but/ # it didn't work out/ so (1.0) but eh::m what was the [ques- ques- again? I <already> forgot
19	LW	[hhheeh no no well ye- (.5) um:: (.6) like w-when you went up there/ di- was it a family house? or [did you like- no,
20	O	[oh no no no just ehm:: (1.2 .h) well (.) we stay- eh we stay there like just from morning to- to:: to evening/ [and then I went straight back =
21	LW	[mmm
22	LW	mmm
23	O	= home (.5) but eh:: just to see, like (.) eh::: (.7) with us it's just- (1.1) just in the:- like in the **old** days in- in- in the middle ages, like/ (.6) eh::: **tribes**, [like/ (.) this is the tribe from ((name)), and this is a tribe, like the- the- eh: **those names** live **there**, [#
24	LW	[yeah
25	LW	[mm
26	O	so it's eh: q#uite (1.1) eh::m (1.0) **weird**, but- **fun** (.) to see tha- a- all that. so:
27	LW	mm yeah yeah. [xxx-
28	O	[then my- my father gives a eh/ I live **there**, so/ and- and and- and::: we meet like eh (.4) **uncles**:: from my fa=hh=ther, (.3) ((smiling voice)) and uncles **from** the un[cles, from my father, so::: it's the- it goes wa:::y back (.4) so/
29	LW	[((quiet laughter))
30	LW	yeah (.6)
31	LW	[[em:
32	O	[[we've- (1.3)
33	LW	LW: ne- go ahead
34	O	no::/ we've- # (.8) with us, it- we know (.5) the:::/ **all** of the family/ like, (1.0) cousins from the cousins **from** the c=hh=ousins, that's- we- we do al- we know them all so/ (.) family's a big thing for us/ family's a big thing for us. **##**

Otman began his description of places he likes to go in Morocco by identifying his ancestral home, up in the mountains, as the rural place from which his father migrated (turns 1-5). His narrative emphasizes his perceived authenticity of that place as 'traditional' and 'untouched', and the place that he likes to visit (turns 7-11). My next question (turn 12) prompts a clarification sequence (turns 13-18) to establish that he has only been there once, but his desire to return is such that he had tried recently to go again. I then repeated my question about staying in a family house there (turn 19), which prompted a reply from Otman giving more details about this visit. His visit was only one day, not overnight (turn 20), in which he saw where his father grew up (turn 28), and met villagers to whom he is related in many senses (turns 23-34). These included kin relations, like uncles and cousins, as well as tribal relations, through people and placenames that Otman can identify as part of his history through *descent*.

Like other journeys to discover ancestral heritage, this one created connections for Otman between *descent* and the specific, identifiable place where his family comes from. It is not, however, a place he goes back to regularly. Most of his time is spent at his diasporic home near Tetouan, in a relatively populated area compared to the rural isolation he describes here. Yet his narrative elucidates ways that Otman traces his *descent* from this *place* through practices that he and his family repeat elsewhere in the world: their traditions come from the mountains (turn 9).

Ancestral homes are not always sought out. For those that did make more regular visits to the rural ancestral home, the visit could be stressful and unpleasant, or profoundly boring. Malika B recounted her impressions of visiting her mother's village as entirely negative: the journey was long and difficult because the village was unreachable by car, so the last part involved riding donkeys up a mountain. Her sister Jamila remembered being allergic to the mountains: that the two youngest girls, Jamila and Malika, broke out into hives when they visited, which meant for them a faster return to Tetouan and the sea water to calm their reaction. In these circumstances, where the ancestral home is connected to memories of suffering rather than images of authenticity or of joy, the idea of return becomes less tempting.

Traveling to locate one's heritage is not limited to traveling to an ancestral home. Almost all interviewees remembered their first tours around Morocco as an important and exciting trip, in which they were able to explore and appreciate the history of Morocco more generally. Conversations about this tour were often framed by DVs as wanting to 'know my own country', after having visited the family home almost exclusively. This sense of 'knowing' often meant visiting places in Morocco that are symbolically or historically important, like Fes or Marrakech. This pursuit is reminiscent of frameworks of national heritage tourism (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1998) as a means of belonging in the nation by appreciating discourses of history presented in specific sites. They also discussed visiting places outside of Morocco that are connected to a sense of Arab identity, like Tunisia, Turkey, or the Middle East. Jamila B, who normally visits her family in Tetouan and Tangier, wants to travel to Marrakech:

5.5.1.b. Interview extract: Why Marrakech?

Jamila B, Den Haag, 12 April 2008, 40sec		
1	LW	why? why Marrakech?
2	J	because (1.0) I h- h- hear:/ about the the the **nice buildings**: and eh the **markets**: (.5) ther:e (2.3) and eh::: the **historic** about it, eh:: *Rabat ook, en Fes*. because it's- (.8) I think it's- it's my **roots** there, so I **have** to know how it (.) is there/ *Rabat also, and Fes*
3	LW	°mmm yeah°
4	J	I think that's eh: (.)
5	LW	well- but- I=mean all of your family come from Tetouan, is it- (.3) do you feel- you f- still feel like Fes (.7) Fes and Marrakech are::- are part of your roots? (.5) are part of your history/ (2.0)
6	J	n-no, but- Morocco is a **part** of my roots/ and (.6) Marrakech is: (.) a [part of it/ (.) of it. (.6) and I- (.4) I want to **like** (.) to go to the **south**, (.5) because I- always on the north, so eh/
7	LW	[yeah/ yeah/

Jamila's reflection represents an appreciation of Marrakech, as well as Rabat and Fes, as noteworthy historic places as well as being part of her 'roots' in Morocco. Others from the north who had been further south usually referred to that trip as a

valued memory, or an experience in Morocco they would like to repeat. Rootedness in Morocco, according to Jamila and others, might be broadly interpreted to many locations in Morocco that can potentially be 'home,' beyond the familial or ancestral home.

Yasmine's holiday habits reflect the flexibility of location in practices of going 'home.' She provides an example of more practical considerations involved in these practices: although she visits Morocco quite often – as many as three times a year – her visits to her family home in the deep south are less frequent, mostly because of its lack of accessibility.

5.5.1.c. Fieldnote extract: Marrakech or Erfoud, 3 June 2008

> Discussion at Café des Epices about choices on where to go: I was making the point that there's a difference between choosing to go to Marrakech (amusant, sortir etc) and choosing to visit family in Erfoud; Yasmine says that going to Erfoud with just 1 week would be too exhausting – it's not enough time (for the travel/distance involved). She's tired in Paris, she doesn't want to be tired on vacation.
> However when she does have time, she spends more time with family than elsewhere – she gives example of last summer, where she was in Erfoud for a week, then Meknes, then to Marrakech for the wedding.

Decisions about where to visit incorporate both emotional and affective factors, like *attachment* to family or memories of childhood visits, as well as practical considerations, as in this case. The travel involved in reaching Erfoud is more than Yasmine is able to give on a regular basis; she therefore spends more time elsewhere in Morocco, most often Marrakech but also at her parents other home in Meknes. The notion of 'rootedness' or 'returning to origins' is flexible so that it can refer to an idea of 'Moroccanness' more generally, exclusive of seeing blood-related family in a stricter sense of rootedness as *descent*. Where DVs go in order to be at 'home' in Morocco is thus not exclusively determined by *descent* as familial, but also through *descent* as *place*, embedded in many landscapes of Morocco.

5.5.2. To return or not: Multiple trajectories of attachment

For many DVs the multiple senses of *descent* – from familial *place*-based – are motivating factors to visit Morocco. These motivations are, of course, not consistent nor universally applied. Ideas of 'rootedness' and connections with close family are powerful attractive forces, but they are balanced by intermingled sources of tension, like disaffiliative 'mentality' differences and persistent, frustrating

obligations to family. For those who do return with consistency, this practice involves calculating these forces and constructing into their holidays means to seek the positive ones and deflect the negative ones. The choice to return is for some an automatic and necessary act, but for others a tenuous one, dependent on an alignment of encouraging factors. As Levitt (2002) found, these factors and dimensions can shift through stages in the lifecycle, from youth to maturity, to marriage and parenthood, and so on. As often as there are DVs who choose to visit because they want to see family members, or because they miss places in Morocco, there are others who choose to visit without seeing family, or who choose not to visit at all as their personal circumstances shift.

An interesting example of this calculation is Mounir, cited earlier as construing familial visits as an obligation to be taken care of quickly (5.4.4.b). Later in that conversation, he expressed the feeling of necessity to return every year, but constructed in a way that combines explicit family obligation with his own feeling of being on vacation.

5.5.2.a. Interview extract: *C'est obligé*

Mounir, Fes, 28 July 2008, 2mins		
1	M	ouais quoi ce soit c'est les hôteles:, la piscine, donc eh: (1.2) fa niente, (1.8) repos/ yeah whatever happens it's hotels:, the pool, so eh: (1.2) doing nothing, (1.8) rest/ (2.1)
2	LW	mais c'est:- (.8) là c'est- c'est que ça pourquoi Maroc et pas:: [la Turquie but it's:- (.8) there it's- it's just that why Morocco and not:: [Turkey
3	M	[car Maroc c'est mon pays d'origine, [quoi. [cause Morocco is my homeland, [right
4	LW	[ouais voilà/ (.) hehehhehhehe [yeah that's it/ (.) hehehhehhehe
5	M	comme=ça je=vois la famille au même temps like=that I=see the family at the same time
6	LW	ouais yeah (4.6)
7	LW	et il y a la possiblité d-m- au moins. and there's also the possibility o-l- at least.
8	M	xx ((wind noise))

9	LW	et il y a la- (.8) **possiblité,** au mois/ de voir la famille and there's the- (.8) **possibility** at least/ to see the family
10	M	ouais. (.8) la famille au Maroc il faut que je vienne une fois par an, c'est obligé euh (1.3) <si tu veux> yeah. (.8) the family in Morocco I have to come once a year, it's obligatory yeah (1.3) <if you want> (2.2)
11	M	même si je vais dans un autr- dans un autre pays, ou un truc comme ça, j'ai pas l'impression d'avoir été en vacances/ c'est quand je suis au Maroc que je suis dans mes vacances. even if I go to som- to some other country, or something like that, I don't have the feeling of having been on vacation/ it's when I'm in Morocco that I'm on my vacation.

Mounir frames his holiday habits as functional for both leisure and family: he enjoys the leisure aspects of his visits to Morocco, and being in Morocco means that he can pass by to see his family. In Mounir's case, obligation can be avoided or controlled because he travels independently – with only friends, no spouse, no children and no schedule. Being 'rooted' in Morocco is not exclusive to being 'rooted' through familial connection. Mounir's practice of visiting every year, even multiple times a year like Yasmine, expresses his investment in and attachment to Morocco, implicitly linking that *attachment* to *descent*, but not necessarily to extended family or familial *descent*.

In contrast with Mounir, Meryem B did not feel the need to visit every year. She was one of the few participants who did not have intentions to return in the near future. Her reasons are practical: she would prefer to use her holidays for touristic exploration rather than the return to Morocco:

5.5.2.b. Interview extract: Not going back

Meryem B, Antwerp, 9 April 2008, 2mins		
1	LW	what would bring you back to Morocco. like, what would convince you to:: (.9) to go visit again.=
2	M	mhhhmhhh
3	LW	=anything?
4	M	I don't know actually/ (1.1) I haven't thought about that. (1.9) because I wasn't really planning=hh=on=hh=going back heh.[heh.heh.heh, hhhe
5	LW	[xxx, never again? (.) if you- like/ wo- do you think never again? I=mean/=

6	M	=no not **never** again, and=I=think,- (1.0) I don't **hate** Morocco/ or something but, (1.2) I don't really have the **need** (.) to go to Morocco/ because I have the same (.8) I think if you're going- if you're **having** a budget/ (.3) that you: (.5) want to **plan** in a vacation, (.6) you can: (.7) as well as go to another country/ (1.1) that's the- that's the feeling that have. so, (.5) I don't think it's **necessary** to give um (1.0 .h) ya- (.) like- to: (.9) go **first** to Morocco, because that's the **most** important (.7) I would say/ like (.) go and find yourself a cheap hotel in Spain and do the same thing!=
7	LW	mmm
8	M	=be a tourist there, be=hhcause=hh it doesn't really matter, hh=so/
9	LW	um (.7) yeah, that's good- I mean/ (1.0) it's a fair point/
10	M	yeah
11	LW	wu- u:m (.8) but it's interesting,- well/ some peo:ple:, (.) you=know (.5) u:m:/ (2.0) um, (4.3) like, sometimes there's a lot of **pressure** from: **parents** (.5) to: (.8) to: continue going to Morocco/ because that's, you=know/ it's- (.) it's something about your **history**, and/ (.4) where you're **from** and things like that/ but your parents they're not-
		(1.0)
12	M	well-
		(.8)
13	LW	well=I=guess- your father's there right now, isn't he so hheh hh hehheh heh.
14	M	um: (1.0) I don't- I don't think they would **pressure** me to go back, but p-(.) I think they would **prefer** it. I think that they wo- that they would be more **satisfied** if I would **choose** Morocco **above** another country. (.8) but for me, I would rather go to, i don't=know/ see **Italy**, (.) I've never been in Rome, hehehehehe I would like to see Rome heh.heh.heh .hh so:/ hhh
15	LW	fair enough,
16	M	instead of doing every time, the **same** thing/ with the **same** people/ in the **same** market, ahheh.

In that Meryem evidently doesn't feel the sense of familial or *place*-based connection that leads others to continue to return, she judges the value of Morocco as a holiday destination, through the enjoyment or leisure she will gain from visiting (turns 6-8). Following her logic, other destinations, like Rome, would be more interesting because they offer something she has never seen (turns 14-16). Meryem does not disavow her 'Moroccanness' or feeling of connection to family and 'homeland' in Morocco. Instead she questions her own need to go there

instead of somewhere else that would be more interesting to her. Meryem identifies the value of Morocco to her as a *place* to visit as separate from its value as a 'homeland'. The potential attractions, like family and 'rootedness', are balanced against the desire to enjoy oneself on holiday.

Another part of this calculation is the force of habit. As much as repeat returns can become tedious, as they have for Meryem, they can become necessary, as they have for Mounir. While motivations to return might be encased in notions of *descent*, they are enacted through habitual practices that produce affective, embodied connection and disconnection with every repetition. 'Rootedness,' whether in *place* or amongst family, is a practice that emerges through the act of return, as much as it might through other practices of 'Moroccanness'. In the extract below, I asked Said about visitation habits amongst his neighborhood cohort – DVs who were his neighbors both in France and in Morocco – and their tendencies to return along with him.

5.5.2.c. Interview extract: Let the thread drop

Said, Paris, 9 Feb 2008 1m20		
1	LW	toi tu ret- tu fais la* retour eh: chaque an/ chaque deux ans? [tous les deux ans? c'est b- you you get- you go back eh: every year/ each two years? [every two years? it's b-
2	S	[en::h ouais [uh::: yeah
3	LW	mais: tes amis qui:/ (.6) qui ont grandi dans la même cité- dans la même cité::: um (.8) qui tu- (.4) qu- à l'époque tu rencontrais là-bas, [qui t'as rencontré là-bas but your friends who:/ (.6) who have grown up in the same place- in the same place::: um (.8) who you- (.4) wh- back then you were meeting there, [who you met there
4	S	[ouais [yeah
5	LW	ils- ils fait- ils font **aussi** lem- eh:: le retour? ou eh they- they makes- they make also ther- eh:: the return? or eh
6	S	pas tous, non/ il- il=y=en=a qui- qui va- qui n'y vont plus: not all, no/ ther- there are those who- who go- who don't go anymore:
7	LW	mmm
8	S	on va dire ça fait sept ans:, cinq ans:, (.) et tous que=je=sais=c'est à partir du moment où tu vas **plus** (.6) pendant cinq ans, sept ans bah tu vas plus jamais#

		let's say it's been seven years:, five years:, (.) and all that=I=know=is that from the moment when you don't go anymore (.6) for five years, seven years well you don't go ever again#.
9	LW	mm.
10	S	c'est fini, parce=que:: bah:: (.8) t'as l'impression que tu vas dans un endroit où tu connais plus per**sonne**, (.) les gens ont chan**gé**::, et tout, tu vas **plus** aller (.7 .h) alors que tu=te=**force** (.8) et là j'en connais un qui se force (.7) à y aller qu'ils essaient de s'arranger d'y aller **une semaine** dans l'année (.5) pour dire bonjour à la famille <et revenir> pour dire eh:: voilà quoi/ e:::o:: on existe toujours, quoi, (.4) et eh::: ceux qui arrivent à se forcer, bon ils y vont:: eh (.5) une fois euh/ par trois ans, par quatre ans,
		it's over, cause:: well:: (.8) you have the feeling that you go to a place where you don't know anyone anymore, (.) the people have changed::, and all, you won't go anymore (.7 .h) unless you force=yourself (.8) and then I know one who forces himself (.7) to go that they try to organize themselves to go one week in the year (.5) to say hello to the family <and return> to say eh:: there you go yeah/ e:::o:: we still exist, yeah, (.4) and eh::: those who manage to force themselves, well they go there:: eh (.5) one time uh/ every three years, four years,
11	LW	mm mm
12	S	et ceux qui, bah/ j'en connais dont un ça fait sept ans, dix ans, qu'ils y vont plus, et puis bah c'est fini, quoi. (.) il:: ils n'iront plus jamais.
		and those who, well/ I know of one it's been seven years, ten years, that they don't go anymore, and then well it's over, right. (.) he:: they don't go ever again.
13	LW	c'e- vers eh:: (1.0) quel pourcentage/ (.5) à dire eh:
		it- around eh:: (1.0) what percentage/ (.5) to say eh:
14	S	eh::: quel pourcentage, c'est pas une majorité/ bon on va dire euh/ p.hhhh c'est plutôt une minorité hein, c'est trente pourcent, vignt pourcent
		eh::: what percentage, it's not a majority/ well let's say uh/ p.hhhh it's more a minority yeah, it's thirty percent, twenty percent
15	LW	trente pourcent qui- (.4) [qui xx
		thirty percent who- (.4) [who xx
16	S	[qui n'y vont plus::: voilà. c'est pas une majorité, <si tu veux> (.8) la majorité que je connaisse, eh ils se forcent à y aller: euh:: ils essaient de **s'arranger** en tout cas (.6) d'y aller une fois::=eh:: deux- par deux ans xx ouais.
		[who don't go anymore::: that's it. it's not a majority, <if you like> (.8) the majority that I know, eh they force themselves to go there: uh:: they try to organize themselves in any case (.6) to go there once::=eh:: two- every two years xx yeah
17	LW	mmm hmm. mmm hmm.
18	S	mais c'est=une minorité quand-même/=trente pourcent::: (.6) on=va=dire ouais trois sur dix qui n'y vont plus, (.) trois ouais,
		but it's a minorty still/=thirty percent::: (.6) let's=say three out of ten who don't go anymore, (.) three yeah,
19	LW	d'accord d'accord

		okay okay
20	S	bah eux qui:: qui ont laissé le fil passer, puis ça y est, quoi. well those who:: who have let the thread drop, then that's it, right.

Amongst Said's peers, he estimates 30% have 'let the thread drop,' or, in other words, strayed from the habit of return long enough to become disentangled from it (turn 20). He describes some DVs who need to force themselves to enact return, just to maintain a presence with family in Morocco (turn 10). If they do not do so often enough, however, they cease to be acquainted with the community of people there (turn 10). If the habit is not maintained, the *place* becomes more spatially and temporally distant.

Said went on to discuss another common cause to cease to return in the example of his oldest brother, who is married to a non-Moroccan. The dynamic of his household is therefore divided between visiting the Moroccan parents in France or in Morocco, and the French parents in France. For non-Moroccan spouses, a visit to family in Morocco can be a difficult or uncomfortable experience, as it can involve significant linguistic and cultural displacement. Said and his wife, however, both have family in Morocco, making the visit easily part of their future plans.

For DVs with complex, multigenerational familial obligations, like spouses, children and in-laws, the decision to visit Morocco becomes a different negotiation of positive and negative affective connections to Morocco. Many members of couples discussed the compromises of these negotiations, such as alternating holiday years between the choice of a spouse who enjoys Morocco and one who doesn't, or having multiple visits in order to see one or the other spouse's family in Morocco. Often these negotiations incorporated considerations about being on holiday, and having adequate leisure during the holiday period, along with being at 'home' with family. They also take into account practicalities, like budgets available for holiday spending. In this sense, deciding whether or not to return to Morocco involves calculating the benefits or detriments of being in the *place* that is supposed to be 'home' against possibilities of going elsewhere for experiences not linked to 'home'.

As DVs move through lifecycle stages, their attachments to family and to their Moroccan 'roots' shift, possibly leading them away from Morocco altogether, or eventually closer to it. Mounir seems consistent in his habit of visiting, but this

practice may change should his friends choose not to go with him, or should he marry a non-Moroccan spouse. Meryem, who had no plans to visit Morocco, did in fact go the next year with a student group to do a tour of historical cities and sites – giving her a chance to tour new places while being in Morocco. As intentions and desires to return fluctuate with other dimensions, visiting Morocco nevertheless remains an entrenched habit. Once the habit is formed, it may gain or lose momentum through communal forms *attachment* as much as in individual practices of return throughout the lifecycle.

5.5.3. Legacies: Iterations of descent *for the next generation*

The interweaving of *attachment* as both positive and negative force – of family *descent* as both a reason to go and a reason to avoid and of the *place* of Morocco as something desired or as something stressful – make this habitual choice to visit a complicated and fluctuating one. While all of these influences are operating, none is necessarily dominant or decisive, each depending on individual experiences, lifecycle stages, and compromises within families that reflect their priorities. 'Family' is clearly not the sole driving factor for return, but family influence can still play a part in encouraging DV holidays in Morocco, particularly in cases where the parents have chosen to retire part of the year in Morocco, or where the holiday becomes an opportunity for adult children whose lives are dispersed in Europe to reconvene. Although the Moroccan-based branches of family may no longer be a significant motivation, the sense of family connectedness continues to be one.

Along those lines, a number of participants remarked that the visit is important for their children, as a way of showing children 'where they come from', or their '*point de repères*' (point of reference). This desire, however, was tempered with the intention of making the visits more enjoyable – ridding them of the difficulties of difficult travel, unwanted family obligation, or dissatisfactions with the holiday that participants had experienced in their own youth. Many participants made a distinction between their own experiences as children, often infused with monotony and restricted to the diasporic home, and the way they want their own children to experience Morocco, more variously. In this extract, Ahlame feels that

her children should experience Morocco, but not the same way she did in her youth:

5.5.3.a. Interview extract: Bringing children back

Soumia and Ahlame, Antwerp, 25 March 2008, 1min		
1	LW	do you: (1.0) hope that your children will have similar experiences in Morocco as you did? or:: (.) do you plan to bring them back?
		(.7)
2	S	S: oh I never eh t- thought about it, i[t eh ffhhhh/
3	A	[n::e/
		(.8)
4	A	a- it- I think it's important for th- for the children to- to learn the **lang**uage, (1.4) seeing that- the fact that I have a lot of family **there**
5	LW	yeah
6	A	I would like to take my children there. not **ev:ery year** (.9) like we used to go, (.) but u:m: (.6) at least you **go** and meet the **fam**ily and talk to the **fam**ily and **kno:w** (.6) the **fam**ily, (.4) I think that- I- I would think that's important for **my** children, but/ (.5) to spend the same holiday as I spent (.4) ppp (.) I don't know/
7	LW	or t- or even to **see** Morocco:
8	A	to see Morocco, yes. (.6) to s[ee Morocco and to know the family.
9	S	[the- it's impo- (.8) it's important that they know their roots/ eh?=
10	A	y[a
11	LW	[mm
12	S	=from where they are **com**ing and that they speak some A**rab**ic, and so=I don't want (.6 .h) my children: (.4) can speak only Dutch or so/ he,
13	LW	mm
		(2.2)
14	A	yeah.

This conversation was particularly relevant to Ahlame, who was pregnant at the time, but not as relevant to Soumia, who was in her late-thirties and single. Their responses speak to their intentions for their future imminent or possible children, as well as to their lasting impressions of their own holiday experiences. As Ahlame had said previously in the interview, her family was the most important reason for her to visit Morocco; the experience she imagines for her children is construed through contact with family (turn 6). However, her proposed visit is not the same annual holiday of her parents – as she emphasized, not every year, but at

least to meet the family. Soumia frames her priorities to visit through knowing Arabic (turn 12), with a preference that her children will not only speak Dutch. Both of these responses reflect aspects of *descent* that are linked to *places* in Morocco – places inhabited either by family or by linguistic roots. Yet they are both adapted for these women's lifestyles: they will not go every year, but enough to be connected in some way.

Rabia, whom I met whilst on holiday in Marrakech with her husband Ali and small child, was more certain of continuing the habit of visiting:

5.5.3.b. Interview extract: Always coming back

Rabia, Marrakech, 13 June 2008, 40sec		
1	LW	par rapport à:: tes enfants, (1.0) tu- (.4) bah j'imagine que::/ (2.0) vous/ continuez à:: (.7) à visiter Maroc eh/ (.9) pendant les années, (.3) tu imagines jamais que: (1.7 .h) un jour vous- vous cessez de (.8) [de venir with respect to:: your children, (1.0) you- (.4) well I guess that::/ (2.0) you (pl) are continuing to:: (.7) to visit Morocco eh/ (.9) over the years, (.3) (do) you ever think tha:t (1.7 .h) one day you- you will stop from (.8) [from coming
2	R	[de revenir? ça m'étonnerais, hein (.8) pourquoi non! je pense pas! (.5) peut-être quand on voudra visiter d'autres pays, mais je pense quand-même on va toujours <passer> ici/ au pays d'origine [from coming back? it would surprise me, yeah (.8) why not! I don't think so! (.5) maybe when we want to visit other countries, but I think anyways we will always <pass> here/ in the ancestral country
3	LW	et pour- eh:: pour vos enfants, c'est- c'est important pour- à- pour toi de::: d'apprendre:: à eux:[:: la langue and for- eh:: for your (pl)_children, it's- it's important for- to- for you to::: to teach:: to them:[:: the language
4	R	[la langue, (.7) la l'origi- la réligion, oui. [the language, (.7) the origi- the religion, yes.
5	LW	ouais. yeah.
6	R	mm (.6)
7	LW	°tout ça ouais° °all that yeah° (.8)
8	R	tout ça ouais.= all that yeah
9	LW	ouais yeah

10	R	=c'est:: tradition, (.5) pas des traditions mais c'est: (.4) **obligatoire** quoi, =it's:: tradition, (.5) not the traditions but it's (.4) **obligatory** you=know, (1.6)
11	LW	ouais yeah (.7)
12	R	c'est les bases. hhmmhhmm.hh (1.0) c'est leur repères. it's the basis. hhmmhhmm.hh (1.0) it's their references

Soumia, Ahlame, and Rabia all highlight the idea that their children should know something of their 'roots', their language, and where the family comes from as they are surrounded by other languages and influences most of the year. Yet Rabia exhibited more certainty about the importance of this visit as part of her children's lives. Her practices and plans, in fact, resemble those of Mounir: she felt the visit to be an obligatory part of her annual holiday and maintained separations between time spent on holiday with her nuclear family in Marrakech and time spent with her parents or her husband's family elsewhere. She and her husband had their separate holiday in Marrakech, while planning a visit to her in-laws during Ramadan. Holidays in Morocco, for Rabia, become a cultural counterpoint – a way of reinforcing a delineated 'Moroccanness' that exists in Morocco and reconnecting with one's roots, while isolating the problematic part of *attachment* as obligation or complicated family relationships.

The trend of these responses reflects the dominant discursive imagining of *attachment* as a positive, fundamental, and formative influence, inferring that children will benefit from 'knowing their roots' through first-person exposure. Yet the idea of return is firmly limited to temporary stays – to holidays and relaxation – with slim chances for more permanent settlement. When I posed a question about the length of their holidays in Morocco, Rabia's husband Ali gave an evocative response in juxtaposition with his wife's:

5.5.3.c. Interview extract: Not staying too long

Ali, Marrakech, 13 June 2008, 1min		
1	LW	mais- maintenant ça change un peu comme eh:: (.4) là vous pass- vous passez une semaine (.4) à peu près, eh:/ ici à Marrakech, et puis: but now it's changing a little like eh:: (.4) no you spen- you are spending a week (.4) just about, eh:/ here in Marrakech, and then:

2	A	ouais, ouais une semaine, à Marrakech, euh:: une semaine, euh:: à Essaouira, fin/ pour voir la famille, (1.0) et euh::: mais j'en ai- fin **nous**, nous depuis qu'on:: est marié, on essaie que faire les deux semaines, pas plus [hein/ (.) parce=que après, moi je crois que c'est un peu:: (.6) lourd
		yeah, yeah one week, in Marrakech, uh:: one week, uh:: in Essaouira, well/ to see the family, (1.0) and uh::: but I've- well **we**, we since we've been married, we try to do the two weeks, no more [yeah/ (.) cause after, me I think that it's a bit:: (.6) heavy
3	LW	[ouais
		[yeah
4	LW	comment ça?
		how's that?
5	A	trop long
		too long
6	LW	ah oui/
		ah yes/
7	A	trop long. qu[and on reste trop long au Maroc, c'est an:: c'est après ça fa- à un moment ça/ (.8) ça va bien, ça suffit,
		too long. wh[en we stay too long in Morocco, it's an:: it's after that it- at a point it/ (.8) it's fine, it's enough,
8	LW	[et bah-
		[oh well
9	LW	donc vo[us-
		so yo[u-
10	A	[plus=que=trois semaines, ça serai trop long pour moi.
		[more=than=three weeks, it would be too long for me.
11	LW	ah oui,
		oh yes,
12	A	moi je peux pas rester, eh:::: (1.5) comme ça, tan/ un mois, un mois et démi, eh::/ (.7) même vivre au Maroc, moi je pourrai pas=hein,
		me I can't stay, eh:::: (1.5) like that, so/ one month, a month and a half, eh::/ (.7) even live in Morocco, me I couldn't=yeah
13	LW	mmm
		(1.3)
14	A	pour passer les vacances, c'est bon, mais pas pour vivre,=bah=je=ne=sais pas, moi je suis bien chez moi ehhhehehehehehh
		for spending holidays, it's good, but not for living,=well=I=don't=know, me I'm good at my house ehhhehehehehehh
((child interruption, 8.1 sec excised))		
15	A	donc il::: faut:: (.) faudra grandir ici, hein:: (.7) on n'a pas nos points de repare::- nos points de repères, ils sont là où on est né,
		so you::: must:: (.) got to grow up here, yeah:: (.7) we don't have our points of refare::- our points of reference, they're there where we were born,

Ali is amenable to visiting Morocco – both on vacation in Marrakech and to his family in Essaouira – but feels the need to limit these visits in length. Similarly to Ahlame, he does not imagine his future visits following his parent's example, spending up to six weeks there on holiday (turn 12). Furthermore, he cannot imagine living there (turn 14); in fact, in contrast to his wife, he situates his '*points de repères*' in France, not in Morocco, where he was born (turn 15).

Their combined responses show some of the multifaceted ways that the holiday is practiced, and will possibly continue to be practiced by future generations. These DV parents and potential parents intend to create holidays in Morocco that they enjoy, and that their children might enjoy, so that they can maintain a connection to different aspects of *descent* that remain there in *place*. These range from encouraging linguistic aptitude in Arabic (Soumia) to ensuring that the younger generation have memories of family households in Morocco (Ahlame). Yet the trajectory of *descent* is not always straightforward: they gather around ideas of rootedness in Moroccan *places*, but not necessarily in the same manner or to the same extent. Rabia is firm in the importance of visiting Morocco for her children, as a way to connect them to her *repères*, while her husband considers his *points de repères* to be in France. Both of these are feasible, will inevitably interact with each other so that their children have their own perspectives and interests in being connected to Morocco, or not.

5.5.4. Negotiating home

'Home' is, in these dialogues, a nebulous entity. It is sometimes nostalgically or authentically distant and untouched, and at other times impossible to escape. The varieties of practice documented here attest to the multiple ways 'home' and 'rootedness' are interpreted and enacted. These include visits 'home' that never arrive at a family home. Each of these DVs negotiates his or her own trajectory of visiting or not visiting Morocco, in networks of family members, spouses, children, and friends who take part in the holiday. In this generation, immediately after the migrating generation, there are very few individuals who have never visited at all. Habits of this generation, however, will be compounded in the next, through those who implant this habit in their own children and those who dispel of visits to Morocco altogether. As family homes decrease in affective importance – as elderly

relatives disappear and family homes becomes more and more based in Europe – new children learn different habits of visiting Morocco, in other *places*. Being attached to 'home' in Morocco by feeling a sense of belonging through *descent* can be flexibly and selectively applied to and practiced in various *places*. Being rooted in one specific *place* emerges as less feasible, while being rooted in Morocco as a whole, or in 'Moroccanness' as something to practice by going on holiday there and to pass on to children, emerges as powerful.

5.6. Conclusion

Data presented in this chapter demonstrate that visiting Morocco is a practice linking *descent* and *place* sometimes unsteadily or contradictorily, but consistently and habitually, encompassing both positive and negative iterations of *attachment*. It is a way to maintain connections to a homeland even as it shifts under one's feet. Despite powerful and seductive pulls in that direction, the positive affect of 'rootedness' is met with opposition in negative affects of obligation. 'Home' becomes defined in Morocco by a number of entities in interaction, from governments to family members, to diasporic houses. In practice the enactment of 'home' in Morocco is a contestation of affective investment in 'Moroccanness' and family relations against a distasteful 'mentality' and binding obligations to distant relatives. Yet there remain powerful affective motivations for return, year after year. Their role in assemblage is both expressive and material: encoding certain experiences of Morocco as 'rooting' and being made substantial through memories and practices that become part of DVs bodies and subjectivities through habitual repetition.

These circumstances mirror those described by others in relation to diasporic return visits or settlement (King and Christou 2009; Nash 2008; Phillips and Potter 2006; Potter and Phillips 2006a; 2006b; Stephenson 2002; Wise and Velayutham 2009). Yet these data add a first person perspective on how the holiday takes place in this case, as a collective affective project, pulling and pushing diasporic Moroccans in Europe towards Morocco. They demonstrate that dynamics identified in other research, like familial obligation, 'mentality', and nostalgia for a homeland

create complex interactions that result in visits 'home' that are often longed for but not always voluntary or enthusiastic.

For post-migrant generation Moroccans, the idea of family is thoroughly embedded in the act of making the journey to Morocco. Yet, familial affective investment for them is distinct from what it was for their parents, and the distinction means that their choices of how to spend their time on holiday – from the moment of departure in Europe to the moment they return to that home – are structured along different logic. Their logic recognizes family and 'rootedness' in Morocco as a *place* of origin, but not necessarily in the specific place(s) from which their parents emigrated, or the obligation to visit the distanced family that still lives there.

Instead, their sense of *attachment* seems to relate to a broader concept of 'Moroccanness'. They want to come back to see places that evoke 'Moroccanness' for them, whether or not they are linked with family histories. They try to avoid the pressures and stresses of dealing with people to whom they are *attached* because of their blood relationship, and not because of a sense of mutual respect. They continue to visit those whom they do accord respect, like grandparents, and they wish to foster similar kinds of affiliative *attachment* to their home and to Morocco in general in their own children.

Over the course of years of habitual returns, this negotiation becomes cyclical. When we were preparing to travel, Malika B repeatedly likened the journey to the labor of giving birth: while doing it the pain is overwhelming but the pleasure of the product of it – the child, or in this case, the experience of the holiday – obliterates the painful memory. The next year one is ready to consider going again when 'Morocco fever' sets in, and the community starts calculating who is going or not this year. This formation of diasporic community, taking place all year round and becoming solidified at the period of the holiday, plays a material role in making the voyage happen every summer.

Attachment to Morocco as a *place* is a significant motivating factor to return, but a sense of investment in family *descent* in Morocco is waning along with the progress of generations. The individuals who do not wish to return, like Meryem, tend to be those who did not develop a sense of affective affiliation to the *place* of Morocco, and who furthermore do not enjoy it as an environment for leisure

consumption. They do not get voluntarily drawn into flows toward Morocco, but they do still participate by compromising with family desires to go. If post-migrant generation Moroccans and their descendants will continue to visit Morocco, they must experience *attachment* to the *place* in positive ways that extend beyond the family.

6. Passing as 'Moroccan': Communicative and embodied practices in diasporic visitor interactions in Morocco

Image 18. Walking in the souk, Marrakech

6.1. Introduction

> Not all those at the borders, such as tourists, migrants, or foreign nationals, are recognized as strangers; some will seem more "at home" than others, some will pass through, with their passports extending physical motility into social mobility. There is no question posed about their origin. The stranger's genealogy in contrast is always suspect. The stranger becomes a stranger because of some trace of a dubious origin. Having the "right" passport makes no difference if you have the wrong body or name: and indeed, the stranger with the "right" passport might cause particular trouble, as the one who risks passing through. The discourse of "stranger danger" reminds us that danger is often posited as originating from what is outside the community, or as coming from outsiders, those people who are not "at home", and who themselves have come from "somewhere elsewhere" (where the "where" of this "elsewhere" always makes a difference). The politics of mobility, of who gets to move with ease across the lines that divide spaces, can be re-described as the politics of who gets to be at home, who gets to inhabit spaces, as spaces that are inhabitable for some bodies and not others, insofar as they extend the surfaces of some bodies and not others. (Ahmed 2007, 162)

Ahmed here discusses borders through a framework of whiteness, producing an imaginary of 'black' bodies processed through suspicious borders and infiltrating 'white' spaces. These bodies are all the more dangerous because they belong in some way; they are attached to the 'right' passport and are permitted to pass over borders despite having the 'wrong' embodied attributes or name. The same processes are inverted for DVs entering Morocco. Having the 'right' passport permits their 'physical motility' to cross borders and cross back, but it is the 'wrong' passport for their 'Moroccan' bodies.

Instead of flowing easily from one side of the border to the other and back, their social mobility encounters friction. Their bodies hesitate in interaction with practices framing them as strange when entering Morocco. In response, 'being-Moroccan' becomes an attractor in this assemblage, shaped through dimensions and practices of embodiment that emerge in the communicative and consumption interactions DVs have with resident Moroccans. This attractor exerts considerable force because of the tension between their materially 'Moroccan' bodies – visually recognizable as part of the ethno-racial category 'Moroccan' – and their materially and expressively 'non-Moroccan' corporeality. They belong because of their 'Moroccan' bodies (and passports), yet do not belong because of their 'non-Moroccan', 'European' habits, preferences, sensibilities, speech, and ways of being in and through their skins. This chapter is concerned with how DVs attempt to reconcile this duality in interaction by negotiating the ways they are recognized as strange through practices of embodimentality.

To explore this dynamic, I first review my theoretical presentation of embodimentality in section 6.2, and then discuss it in section 6.3 in relation to some of the characteristic ways it becomes relevant in the data presented below. Namely, these are related to how DVs are recognized and misrecognized in Morocco, which I set up through strangeness that DVs embody and how they try to *pass*, or to diminish that strangeness and be recognized as Moroccan. I discuss patterns of visible and audible practices for *passing* that emerged in the data in sections 6.4 and 6.5, then moving in section 6.6 to how *passing* is made relevant in the specific context of marketplace bargaining as a questionable strategy for getting the 'right' price. In sections 6.7 and 6.8, I consider some ways that *passing* is

deployed through a seeming lack of practice: through silences and ellipsis, or through the absence of concerted effort to be recognized. The final data, section 6.9, relates to moments where *passing* becomes an ambiguous project, achieving unanticipated or undesirable effects. In the conclusion, I revisit how these forms of embodimentality become activated at the border, both territorial ones as Ahmed describes above and emergent ones in everyday encounters.

6.2. Embodimentality: Imagining communicative bodies in multiplicity

In the theoretical exposition, I introduced some perspectives on bodies and embodiment, leading to a notion of embodimentality (3.4.1). To reiterate, this notion approximates Grosz's idea of '*embodied subjectivity*' or '*pyschical corporeality*', as a 'materialism beyond physicalism' (Grosz 1994, 22, italics original). It provokes an imagination of bodies as material assemblages and in assemblage; in possession of physical properties that are more and less malleable, and able to take on and disperse material and expressive parts. It points to bodies as intensive and nonmetric, incorporating parts and characteristics through infusion and absorption. This notion draws on Merleau-Ponty (1968, 2002) in making the body central to the production of knowledge, but also Bourdieu (1984) in conceiving of the body as being collectively socialized into certain dispositions. Through it, bodies are recognized as not biologically fixed, following Butler (1993). However, they have physically manifested, material properties that become cogent in interaction, following Goffman (1966). The point, however, is not to propose what a body is or is not, but reflect on what it is always becoming, in interaction with other entities – human, non-human, and discursive – that can have greater and lesser influence on its trajectory. Bodies here are both materially relevant and malleable – a fragment in interaction with both more and less durable properties.

Embodimentality refers to bodies in multiplicity, with aspects that are seemingly permanent and others that can easily be transformed. Phenotype is the most obvious and controversial seemingly permanent manifestation, as evidenced by the earlier discussion on Fanon (3.3.3). Phenotype links a body genetically to other bodies that created it as a material manifestation of linear *descent*. Most problematically, it can be interpreted through strict, static linearity, thereby forcing

essentialist ideas and meanings onto such bodies, imagining *descent* to be intrinsically linked to *place*. In fact, phenotype is nonlinear and dynamic, both expressively and materially: it can be altered physically via technologies and other non-human agents as much it can be altered discursively by interacting with different systems of significance in different places. These interactions, however, have diverse vector trajectories, reflecting different speeds and rates at which physical and discursive fragments change. Speech is on the other end of the spectrum, as something ephemeral enunciated through a body. Yet speech also becomes materially fixed, in the ways muscles learn to operate and the vocabularies and structures become pathways in the brain[19]. By using embodimentality instead of other related terms, like *habitus*, performativity, body idiom, or simply embodiment, I highlight this gamut of materiality and expressivity as interconnected and inseparable in assemblage. Beyond embodiment as a way bodies are produced or produce themselves, embodimentality is about the way bodies both exude and infuse, constantly producing and being produced while they are connecting multidimensionally with new entities. They follow shifting trajectories by interacting with attractors around them, both materially and expressively, in both enduring and ephemeral ways.

The node at the center of this dynamic is the physical body – the 'Moroccan' flesh that links DVs to a flow of *descent* in an enduring way. Their bodies, in a virtual plane, should have or could have been embedded in Morocco. As post-migrant generation individuals, circumstances of their parents' migration trajectories led to their residence outside of Morocco, just as circumstances of others of their generation led to residence in Morocco. In assemblage, these virtual trajectories are as much part of their bodies as actualized ones. Traces of the lives they might have led, had their parents remained in Morocco, are infused in their material bodies as 'Moroccan' flesh and phenotypic features that make them visibly 'Moroccan' despite not having lived there permanently. In moments of face to face contact, the materiality of these bodies is implicitly and immediately cogent to the flow of interaction and the ways that interactants recognize, categorize, and respond to one another – whether or not they are acknowledged to be 'Moroccan'.

19. The research in this area is overwhelmingly vast; Whalen and Lindblom (2006) provide a short introduction on biological aspects of speech production and perception.

Importantly, this 'Moroccanness' is perceived visually, through visible aspects of the physical body that link it to the attractor 'being-Moroccan', as well as through *hexis* that may be read as 'not-being-Moroccan'. In interaction, this visual perception is simultaneously interpreting multiple aspects of embodimentality. Metaphors of other senses – particularly smell – become part of its discussion and interpretation by DVs and resident Moroccans. Beyond a visual process of recognizing physical bodies and *hexis*, this sensory perceptiveness is instinctive and visceral, linking virtualities with actualities and sight with smell through embodimentality.

6.3. Practicing embodimentality

This section outlines how embodimentality is translated into practice through ways bodies are materially and expressively emergent: from corporeal materiality like skin color and phenotype, to corporeal expressivity like dress, *hexis*, and language. The dynamics of embodimentality as practiced in this context congeal around 'Moroccanness' and 'Europeanness' as contrasting singularities. To illustrate this, I begin with a brief example of what I mean by 'being recognized', and how it becomes translated into and relevant to notions of *strangeness*, which leads eventually to a project of *passing*.

6.3.1. Being misrecognized I: Stopping on the street

One afternoon (7 August 2008), I accompanied Wafae, her husband, children, and sister-in-law while they walked around the Marrakech souk before heading to the airport to return to the Netherlands. At one point they were speaking with each other in Dutch when a vendor seated outside of his shop on the street called out in our direction, 'Turkish?' Wafae replied in *derija* 'bḥalək bḥalna,' you and us are the same, as we continued to walk. Unlike other similar encounters I witnessed, in this one Wafae turned back to ask the vendor why he had called them Turkish. I later asked her what he said:

6.3.1.a. Interview extract: Wafae's report

Wafae, Marrakech, 7 August 2008, 15sec	
1	W: I asked him/ because I said I- well- well they're moroccan just like you (.)
2	LW: mm

3	W: and he said, well I heard them talking and I could not understand them/ so I assumed that they were Turkish.

As part of their business practice, vendors use such tactics as guessing the provenance of passersby in order to get their attention and attract them into their shops. Calling out to our group may have been intended as an affiliative conversational opening, but it became a vital misrecognition. Her report on the conversation puts the burden on language use as what misled him, but that aspect is only part of what a vendor might perceive as they were walking by. Something about the embodimentality of this family together on the street – Wafae, her husband, child, and sister-in-law – was ambiguous enough that they were recognized not as 'Moroccan' or even 'Moroccan tourists' but as something completely Other.

These minor scenes of embodimentality are played repeatedly as DVs move around Morocco. In this case, simply passing by on the street becomes a moment where 'Moroccanness' is made relevant, without the need for any more elaborate interaction. I witnessed this kind of calling out with other DVs, who occasionally would comment on the parameters of their misrecognition, wondering why these vendors would think them to be 'Brazilian' or 'Algerian' as opposed to Moroccan. This instance became memorable because Wafae took action to answer that question, by pausing to turn back and ask. Doing this, she also chose to speak to him in *derija*, and justified her 'Moroccan' embodimentality that was misrecognized moments earlier. This encounter reflects how this process is quiet and constant: misrecognitions are subtle but unceasing, and to achieve 'Moroccanness', it must be substantiated through the body at unexpected moments.

Looking at how DVs negotiate interactions where 'Moroccanness' becomes explicitly or implicitly part of the content of activity allows me to trace an outline of how it is shaped as an asymptotic singularity. This section outlines how embodimentality is translated into practice through ways bodies are materially and expressively emergent: from corporeal materiality like skin color and phenotype, to corporeal expressivity like dress, *hexis*, and language. The dynamics of embodimentality as practiced in this context congeal around 'Moroccanness' and 'Europeanness' as contrasting singularities. They are emergent in embodimentality in equilibrium with one another, as an interaction that is producing opposites. To

that end, 'being-Moroccan' and 'being-European' are always in quotation marks: I am not referring to essential qualities but to attractors that are constantly becoming, both in interaction with each other and with the bodies and other entities that produce them.

To do this, I will review observed and sometimes recorded interactional data, as well as DV narratives about moments of interaction between themselves and resident Moroccans. This analysis will touch on elements of embodiment like dress, flesh, and makeup, but also embodimentality like speech, muteness and being present in certain spaces but not others. Linguistic practices are analyzed more extensively here partly because they are more practical to record, but also because language use is again and again cited by all parties as an important marker of 'being-Moroccan'. That said, linguistic practices will be considered as part of a more unified imagining of the body – as one of many material and expressive forms of embodimentality. This analysis of communicative practice will not include gesture and non-verbal communication because practical restrictions on recording prevented collection of a suitable corpus[20]. Instead, visible manifestations of the body are evoked through conversation, in the ways that categories are emergent, assigned, and contested by interactants turn by turn, based on visual and audible information they interpret.

Visible markers of identity are also evoked in observational and interview data, in the ways impressions about embodied presences are re-membered and interpreted after the fact. The analysis also reflects on how these visually perceived elements are more-than-visual through embodimentality: they are 'smelled' as much as seen, and are expressed through specific linguistic codes as much as they may be silent. They create embodied, felt, and sensed interactions between DV participants and resident Moroccans that have impacts beyond the moment of encounter.

Given my methodological focus on practices, the data here relates closely to how the movement among attractors is accomplished in interaction, and less to

20. Though I did have access to videorecording, the transitory nature of my fieldwork made recording difficult to enact. Beyond simple practical issues like where to put a camera in confined spaces like the small souk shops, I was not with many of my participants long enough to develop a familiar relationship that would enable me to film them. I did videorecord with some participants, but the video data was not included in analysis.

why it might be attempted. The question of *why*, to the extent that DVs provide a reasoning for their actions, is addressed through their narratives. Following Katz (1999), these rationales are considered data in an interview context. In the example below, Soumia explains her motivations to use Flemish instead of Arabic as purposeful, in order to conceal her negative commentary from potential overhearers who presumably will not be able to understand her. The question of why, however, is also illuminated through practices and actions, through moments when DVs expressed satisfaction at acheiving desired results, or the contrary. In that hypothetical situation, for example, the why of her purposeful linguistic action may be explicitly linked to her disaffiliative, negative comment, but it could also be linked to other Flemish speakers present and ways that she is affiliating herself with them. Or, it could be part of other co-occurring aspects of her embodimentality, in how she is presenting herself as 'being-Moroccan'; or it could simply be because she has forgotten the word in *derija*. The question I can address through interaction data, then, is not *why* she might use one language or another, but *how* she does it, and how it enters into the course of events in interaction.

Investigating how DVs orient their embodimentality in interaction with resident Moroccans in this chapter, it becomes clear that they are aware of an attractor 'Moroccanness' that appears through specific forms of embodimentality, both easily identifiable ones – like language and dress – and others that are difficult to pinpoint. Their attempts to manipulate these forms is linked to a desire to be recognized as 'being-Moroccan' in a way that acknowledges their intimate, embodied, *descent* connection to Morocco and diminishes their strangeness. Yet the limited extent to which they are able to contort and redesign their own embodimentality also becomes clear. Their practices demonstrate their limitations in relation to certain aspects of embodimentality and not others, which become more intensely significant to 'being-Moroccan' or *passing* as 'Moroccan'. Their activities and trajectories occupy this spectrum between *strangeness* and *passing*, fluctuating through dynamics in which DVs are considered *strange* while trying to *pass*, or to be *passing* when they would rather be *strange*.

6.3.2. Strangeness: Bodies being recognized as 'not-Moroccan'

6.3.2.a. Interview extract: Crossed the sea

Ahlame and Soumia, Antwerp, 25 March 2008, 2m		
1	LW	When um when you were traveling, for example, um () were you: speaking arabic mostly? or-
2	S	yes
3	LW	yeah
4	A	yeah.
5	LW	umm did you-
6	S	=wh'- and when I do- I didn't want they hear what you say, I spe- I spoke uh: flemish, [(1.0) hehh but eh- ((smile voice)) normally in arabic=
7	A	[hehehhh .h he =yeah
8	LW	what do you mean, when: when=
9	S	=when you want to (.) .h to have some eh critics/ or you want to say something you don't want the other:: (1.5) for=example= you=are=in=a=restaurant and you say, look it's not good[, en- no I don't like, you are not going to say in arabic [ah! maši məzyen ((not good)) hahahahhha
10	LW	[yeah [haha hhahha
11	LW	ḫayb ḫayb! ((bad bad))
12		((all three laughing 3.8[))
13	A	[ḫayb ((bad)) hehhe
14	LW	um (.9) d-did you ever find problems with people in terms of () like, understanding what they were saying, or:[(.)them understa[nding you,
15	A	[n:o
16	S	[no
17	LW	no?
18	S	no
19	LW	do people ever comment kind of oh, you=know where are you from, your accent is-
20	S	yes but y- they see that enh? you are different enh, even you want to speak very very ve- very good arabic, they are going to:: (1.5 .hhh) to say, she's not from here. (.8) becau[se you (.) you have another appearance,=
21	A	[it's like they, it's like ye- yeah
22	S	=you:: ma- and maybe the **make**up is different, maybe your, uh your **hair** is not eh dressed like there, I-[they see it always
23	A	[mmm
24	LW	mmm
25	A	mmm

26	LW	it's same for you? you d-[() they see it right away when you:=
27	A	[mm
28	A	=yeah/ yeah/ you can't/ you can't deny the fact that,(.) if you meet someone, he is going to say, ok/ you're not from here/ your-[you cr- you **crossed the water** and you came back on holiday/[=
29	LW	[mm [hh
30	A	=that's how they say it in: [(.) in tanja, so ()=
31	S	[mm,
32	A	=[you're from over, over the:: .hhh [the sea:
33	LW	[mm [how- in arabic? how=do=they
34	A	qtati el behar ((you crossed the sea))
35	LW	yeah
36	S	that's how they:: =
37	LW	hhhahaha'
38	S	=[[you cross
39	A	[[that's how- you crossed the sea,/[so, (.9)=
40	S	[mm
41	A	=you're from across the sea/ that's how they- they say, it's like they **smell** (.6) .h [the fact that you're not **born there** and you're not from °there so°= .h
42	LW	[yeah
43	LW	yeah
44	A	=d-d- we **do speak the language**, I think ye- you do speak the language but there are some certain: (.5)=
45	S	[[accents mmm
46	A	[[=**mentality differences** and and, **accents** and: (.)which tell them that you're not from there, that you're not born there, so

This short excerpt about the experience of strangeness encapsulates the range of modes in which it is reported, enacted, and negotiated through embodimentality. Soumia and Ahlame discuss their strangeness as bodily and sensory: local Moroccans can hear that they are not from there (through their use of language), they can see it on their bodies in the way they dress and do their hair, they can even (metaphorically) 'smell' it. Soumia and Ahlame know they are strange because they are told: they are not out-of-Morocco, they 'crossed the sea'.

Their situational descriptions reflect both sides of this strangeness, in how it is told to them – how they are recognized as 'not-being-Moroccan' – but also how they produce it themselves. Ahlame cites 'mentality differences', the same

metaphor described in the previous chapter (5.4.2) as a source of difference in preference and habit between DVs and resident Moroccans. Soumia describes how she uses her European language (Flemish) as a secret language in Morocco, effectively closing out non-Europeans who cannot understand when she wants to criticize. Strangeness becomes something produced through practices by all parties, in the ways DVs maintain distance, like using their European languages, or in the ways they feel themselves categorized as when they cross the sea again. Their strangeness inhabits the distance between bodies that fit the attractor 'Moroccanness' and their ambiguous bodies, which are apparently (visually) Moroccan, but also apparently (visually, audibly, 'smellably') not-Moroccan. They emerge in motion on an ambiguous spectrum between 'being-Moroccan' and 'not-being-Moroccan', which is situationally read as 'being-European', other times as 'not-being-Moroccan-enough' – in any case, *strange*.

For Moroccan diasporic visitors, being recognized as Moroccan matters. If anything, the tropes of being 'neither here nor there' discussed in the introductory and theoretical chapters reflect the importance of being able to call oneself 'Moroccan', and of that identity being acknowledged and reinforced by others. Not being recognized as Moroccan is a mirror of the integration problems experienced by Moroccan Europeans when in Europe. Whereas rejections of localized 'identities' in Europe are named 'minority oppression' and 'racism', problems being accepted as Moroccan in Morocco are not necessarily named, but felt akin to a denial of one's birthright. Being recognized as strange in a materially Moroccan body emerges with practical effects in the following two extracts:

6.3.2.b. Interview extract: Wearing traditional clothes

Naim B and Otman B, Antwerp, 24 March 2008, 1m30		
1	LW	a lot of people tell me about/ when- when you're negotiating something you=have=to speak Arabic or else they'll know:: they'll know where you're from. something like that. [do you ev-
2	N	[yeah b- of course, but they see it=
3	O	=they see it. they see it right away. [(.) you can't hide it. soheheh uh .h [eh
4		[mm [so what language do you speak while you're there?
5	O	Arabic,=

6	N	=Arabic=
7	O	=[[Arabic#
8	LW	[[°Arabic yeah°
9	N	=mye (.) .h but ah- but they can see it, eh: just our ehm: manner of clothing, you=know ahw: the clothes that you wear, and how we (1.1 .h)°y=know° just how we w:alk, and how we drive, and how we talk/ (.) they can- they::- they can immediately (.) kn:ow that we are not from Morocco.
10	LW	°yeah yeh°
11	N	and that's why also the prices [(.8) [cha::nge en ah (.5)=
12	LW	[hh
13	O	[but it depends, it depends. .h w- [it just eh: it just like he said so:
14	N	[=in Tangiers
15	LW	like Naim said/ yeah
16	N	they really see it yeah but we have re- [there's really a problem.
17	O	[w- (.) it depends with people so: I mean eh:#: if yer- if you're gonn:e: (1.5) wear the **same** clothes as them then it's much #less, much less#.=
18	LW	really/
19	O	=you're gonna see just eh: #(.6 .h) en- and if you g- eh- you e- with eh: some guys of the neighborhood, then they'll think/ automatically oh, (.4) th-those are all together. so
20	LW	kamlin ((all together)) yeah
21	O	families. that's it
22	LW	um: whad- when you mean the same clothes as them/ like what?
23	O	djellaba, jabador, uh:# # # šnu hadi baqe? ((what's that already?))
24	N	bəlek? šnu ((yours? what))
25	O	just eh::m traditional clothes of some:

6.3.2.c. Interview extract:Men, in general

Fedwa (Mimount, Amina C), Al Hoceima, 22 July 2008 1m20		
1	LW	wha- what problems did you have? when you were::
2	F	ah- me? (1.1) eh: men, general.
3	LW	yeah.
4	F	ahhehehehehe .h
5	LW	that sounds familiar
6		((all laughing 3.3))
7	F	when you are traveling like women, (.) an:d they see ah- on your c-clothes that you are not somebody from here/=
8	LW	yeah

9	F	=eh: so they try to (.) say not nice things/ and you don't feel- **good** like, (1.1) if eh-h- every time eh: pspspss= ((imitating cat noise used to call women on the street))
10	LW	yeah
11	F	eh::
12	LW	yeah
13	F	like pfffhh hhhh ((slow outbreath/sigh indicating annoyance))
14	LW	hehehe
15	F	.h I'm not a cat, meow! hahahahh[ha
16	LW	[hehah .h yeah. () no/ eh- I-I know that (.) problem [(.) ((laughing)) well so
17	F	[yeah hahahaha
18	LW	[[understood
19	F	[[that is the only- the only problem, ah-ah- ah:: for me, like- like a: woman traveling, I don't have any- any problem with the police, but it's (.) cause I speak the language and I know, .h eh the mentality that I have to speak to them, so they: say- I never had any problems.

In these two extracts, being recognized as a body that is 'Moroccan' but 'not from here' is attributed with direct, practical, negative consequences. In the first, both Naim and Otman agreed that they are recognized on sight as strange (turns 2-3), and then Naim directly attributes the allegedly higher prices they received for goods to that recognition (turn 11). Fedwa in the second excerpt links verbal harassment on the street to being recognized as from another place (turn 7). Because of these seemingly direct, tangible consequences, DVs are constantly engaged in processes of projecting and defending their 'Moroccanness' as moments and situations arise where it becomes relevant.

These reported examples are descriptions of archetypal situations where 'Moroccanness' is interpreted as a pivotal entity in a course of events. The negative affect of these events – for example, 'being recognized' linked with extortion or harassment – is common in the ways such moments are remembered and reported, both by Moroccan DVs and in the other examples of diasporic visitation cited in the previous chapter (5.4.2). As negative experiences, they become relevant to DVs' rememberings of their time in Morocco as moments where affects and impressions are particularly potent and visceral. Furthermore, the negativity embedded in these rememberings is often initiated by resident Moroccans, who recognize them, then exploit their strangeness in some way. They are narratives that evoke vulnerability

on the part of the teller, but give little detail about the other interactant(s) roles or positions at that moment apart from a negative stereotype.

The above examples also illustrate how DVs verbalize and identify the ways they feel themselves to be recognized as 'not-being-Moroccan' through two iconic embodied attributes: dress and language. All speakers identify clothing as key to being recognized; recognition is visual ('they see') but also more profound ('they know'). Language is a part of these narratives, although less so for Fedwa who spent five years of her childhood in Morocco. While she had earlier described problems her brothers had being stopped by police (5.4.2.b), her linguistic skills combine with her knowledge of the 'mentality', so that she avoids such problems (6.3.2.c, turn 19). The boys, however, attest that they are speaking Arabic (*derija*) in Morocco, though they are still recognized (6.3.2.b, turn 4-9). For Otman, dress is a way to effectively disguise oneself, to blend in with a crowd of 'neighborhood guys' by wearing the same clothes as they do, 'traditional clothes' (6.3.2.b, turn 19-25).

On a spectrum of embodimentality, dress and language are relatively malleable, in the sense that they are seen to be superficial or stylistic. Choice of dress is purportedly as simple as an act of purchase; switching from a European language into a Moroccan language is imagined to be a clean transition. In practice, however, clothing becomes bonded to a body in specific ways, as movements permitted or encouraged by certain garments and becoming learned through the habitual interaction between body and adornment. Bodies react, in assemblage, with the garments they wear by learning how to wear them in socially specific iterations (Banerjee and Miller 2003; Barrett 1999; Tavory 2010). Likewise, language is bonded with bodies as an expressive function, and different codes are not always interchangeable. Bodies become habituated into modes of communication, from gestures to semantics, that leave traces in communicative practices, like accent or slang. As Amina and Soumia identify in the initial excerpt, DVs are known as much because of their accents as their clothes (6.3.2.a, turn 44-46). In moments where DVs are recognized as 'not-being-Moroccan', these two attributes are frequently cited as potential ways to mask themselves by changing the most obviously perceived aspects of 'not-Moroccanness' – to *pass*.

6.3.3. Passing: Becoming 'Moroccan' through practice

A traditional definition of 'passing' is the effective assumption of an identity outside of what one might normally be categorized. Most commonly the dimension along which 'passing' is attempted would be race, ethnicity, or gender (Garfinkel 1967; Kroeger 2003; Sanchez and Schlossberg 2001). Individuals who 'pass' in these accounts 'are' one thing while 'passing as' another, making a seemingly insurmountable distinction between an essential 'identity' and a superficial 'mask', and discounting the overwhelming ambiguity of such categories:

> The assumption that an essential core, whether biological or social, determines one's race and ethnicity promotes the belief in ethnic authenticity. Authenticity – that is, the legitimacy of one's claim to ethnicity – underlies the traditional definition of passing given above, which posits a recategorization of the passing individual from her "own" ethnic group to another that is not her "own." The framework of authenticity is especially difficult to sustain, however, in the case of individuals of ambiguous or mixed ethnic background, for when multiple identities are available it is not at all clear which identity takes precedence...*[p]assing is the active construction of how the self is perceived when one's ethnicity is ambigious to others*. (Bucholtz 1995, 352, italics original)

Bucholtz's rationale reconfigures this dynamic into a critique of imagined authenticities. Following Garfinkel (1967), she considers 'passing' as a temporary project as opposed to a permanent pursuit, based in contextual dynamics made relevant because of an exploitable ambiguity in 'identity' (Bucholtz 1995, 359). Individuals who attempt to 'pass' along a given dimension could be aligned with one side or the other, and use that ambiguity for situationally specific purposes. As Bucholtz argues: 'To assume one's biographical identity when it is in dispute is not acquiescence to a default category but active resistance to the way one is read by a stranger' (ibid, 366).

Adhering to the assemblage approach, 'passing' is reconfigured to reflect how supposedly physical, visually categorizable aspects of the body invoke aspects of performativity or embodimentality beyond their material states. Bodies learn how to practice each of these dimensions (race, gender...) over time and in context. Bodies that are read as ambiguous struggle with feedback about where one belongs, caught between one category or another (Mahtani 2002). Bucholtz cites narratives of individuals who 'feel' American but are asked to define themselves through an ethnicity marker – to 'be-Ethnic' as a distinct entity from 'being-

American'. A definition of *passing* in assemblage, then, is a reorientation of embodimentality, towards an alternate, accessible attractor; to attempt to 'be-Moroccan' when one's 'Moroccanness' is called into question. It is by no means a permanent project, or even attempted with the end result in mind of 'passing' completely, i.e. becoming entirely seen through a new 'identity' frame. Instead, *passing*, in italics instead of quotes, is used here to describe these emergent interactive relationships in which DVs attempt to be recognized as more 'Moroccan' than strange by practices of 'being-Moroccan' ratified by interactants.

'Being-Moroccan' is accessible only to certain bodies. The exterior of the material body instills limitations on what bodies might be recognized by others as passable along one dimension or another. This judgement relies on the visibility of embodied dimensions that are socially relevant, even seen as deterministic, like 'race', 'ethnicity', or 'gender'. In the context of a longer argument about the disproportionate primacy of visual perception in knowledge production about 'identities', Alcoff (2006) asserts that the visibility of the material body as racially encoded and encoding tends to render other dimensions produced on the body as subordinate. She gives two literary historical examples of two bodies trying to negotiate an Other racial externality with Othered racialized senses of self: Jack Kerouac's diary entries (1998) about his foray into black and Mexican neighborhoods in Detroit, and Robert Rodriguez's (1983) memoir of reconciling his Mexican-Indian body with dreams of public office. In each case, the author becomes frustrated with the categorization of his own appearance, and the boundedness that emanates from it when trying to move through spaces or structures in which they become more visible. As Alcoff explains:

> Clearly, one source of the importance of visibility for racialized identities is the need to manage and segregate populations and to catch individuals who trespass beyond their rightful bounds. But there is another reason for the importance of visibility, a reason I would argue is as significant as the first: visible difference naturalizes racial meanings...the visible is not merely an epiphenomenon of culture, and thus precisely lies its value for racialization. We may need to be trained to pick out some features over others as the most salient to identity, but those features nonetheless have a material reality. This is why both Kerouac and Rodriguez experience racial identity as impossible to alter: Kerouac cannot "become Negro" no matter how much he would like to, and Rodriguez can only fail to shave the darkness off his skin. Locating race in the visible thus produces the experience that racial identity is immutable. (Alcoff 2006, 191-192)

Effectively, in each case the author is unable to *pass* because of the way his body is perceivable as racially Other, despite his internal sense of belonging to the targeted social singularity.

Alcoff argues for the 'material reality' of visibly perceived features, but against the primacy of the visual in production of 'identities'. Indeed, the visual is not always the most salient feature in interaction. Louis (2005) considers this problematic through negotiations of 'African American racial identity' between African Americans born in the United States and Americans born in Africa. Arguably, 'racial identity' is not what should be at stake in this situation, but in what Louis calls a 'paradox of racial sameness' other dimensions of 'identity' become significant in determining status and political rights. 'African Americanness', as I would call it, becomes located in historical turning points and markers of socioeconomic position in relationship with foreign-born Africans in America:

> If the native-/foreign-born dispute over African American identification has its material basis in perceptions of socioeconomic competition, its symbolic foundations and justification reflect the disingenuous processes of racialization in its classical form. Within the racial paradigm, ostensibly benign descriptions of difference and sameness are never that but placed in hierarchical order through their relationship to each other. And, as an irregular example of internal racial differentiation that ought to puncture the salience of race, the effect of the native-/foreign-born dichotomy is often the opposite. Thus,the foreign-born are not racial and demonstrate a *culture* of industry and discipline, while the native-born are taken to represent a 'culture of poverty' that is innate to their character and are therefore *racial*. (Louis 2005, 360-361, italics original)

Combining these two arguments produces a reading of bodies through multiple dimensions of sameness and difference, where difference, whether visual or otherwise, inevitably becomes the more salient factor in producing relationships between groups at moments of interaction. These two authors establish some ways that statuses, habits, and practices become constitutive of bodies, and particularly assigned to race, despite the face that such attributes may be more strongly linked with other dimensions of sociality like economic or political power. Using other terminology, they point to the ways that 'identities' congeal into attractors, starting with a single dimension – like dark pigmentation – and amassing other factors – like disenfranchisement, poverty, and criminalization – to become a pulsating singularity overpowering other variations.

Along the lines of Louis' subject, DV and locally resident Moroccan bodies here are ostensibly of one 'race' but nevertheless in a paradox of racial sameness. Neither Alcoff nor Louis discuss how other social dimensions without material basis in physical appearance are nevertheless visible on the body and cogent to the ways these bodies are being recognized. Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* encapsulates the way social class becomes such a dimension inhabited by bodies in unconscious, but material ways: 'What is 'learned by body' is not something that one has, like knowledge that can be brandished, but something that one is' (Bourdieu 1990, 73). If *habitus* is collectively embodied and practiced class cultural capital, *hexis* refers specifically to the ways it manifests through the body as comportment, bearing, and comfort. For example, ways of wearing clothing and decorating the body reflect *hexis*, in how covered or uncovered the body needs to be in order to be comfortable in public. This stylistic choice may be linked to taste as a manifestation of class, but also may link to weather or religion. In this sense, dress operates as an expressive manifestation of multiplicity through style, as well as a material manifestation in how bodies interact with and feel at ease (or not) in the clothing they bear, through *hexis*.

Hexis indicates how bodies are productive in ways that are visible but multi-faceted, and not attributable to one defining characteristic element. These layered forms might include creating respectability (Skeggs 2004) or producing socially acceptable emotion (Kawale 2004) as means of designing bodies that adhere to parameters of an attractor. Their emergence is visibly perceived and embodied through facial expression and communication as much as through dress, manner of walking and consuming certain places. They become important to the individuals who enact them when they reflect a desire to *pass*, to 'construct how the self is perceived' (see Bucholtz cited above) when recognition is ambiguous, or to become invisible when hypervisibility is the norm (Skeggs 1999). Yet it is easy to fail at *passing*: 'an ineffectual effort to pass is just that, a failed attempt. *Passing* means that other people actually see or experience the identity that the passer is projecting' (Kroeger 2003, 7-8). A noticed attempt at *passing* reinforces the distance between embodimentality and the unattained attractor. Perceived inconsistency between material entities (like skin) and *hexis* – what might be called a discordant

embodimentality – contribute to the ambiguity that makes it difficult for DVs to *pass* as 'being-Moroccan'.

6.4. Passing **visibly: Being recognized and blending in**

Passing emerges in my data when being recognized as 'not-being-Moroccan' is made relevant in the course of encounter with resident Moroccans, whether through a conscious attempt made on the part of the DV or through feedback from others that signals recognition. In all the instances reported[21] DVs who attempt to *pass* are failing. Failure occurs when one is recognized as non-local, most often by being called by an identifying category ('hollandiya' in an example below), being asked where one is from, or simply being addressed in a non-Moroccan language. Despite being 'racially' the same as other interactants – or everyone being equally Moroccan in terms of *descent* – DVs practice an embedded *hexis* contributing to an embodimentality that is immediately visually recognizable as 'not-being-Moroccan'.

6.4.a. Fieldnote extract: London, 6 December 2008

> I met Rachida, a friend of Malika's from Belgium who lives in London with her husband and children. She recalled having been at her parents' home in Tetouan years earlier, deciding to leave the house in a long simple dress and sandals, choosing this outfit purposefully not to be recognized. Instead, as soon as she walked out the door (just to go around the corner to visit her aunt), she heard someone on the street call to her, 'Hello Dutch girl' (hollandiya). "I didn't even open my mouth!"

Inasmuch as choosing to wear certain clothing is imagined to be a way to pass, it is paired with in equal or superior measure the idea that one should be able to *pass* if not given away by language. Rachida told me this story as an example of how her body (*hexis*) was recognized as 'not-being-Moroccan', despite her intentional effort to disguise herself. Although DVs are often aware that their 'Europeanness' is shown on their bodies through more than just clothing, like Rachida in this narrative, none that I encountered were able to manipulate that aspect of *hexis* effectively. Interestingly, their attempts to *pass* consistently fail despite the fact that many can, to some extent, identify the elements of *hexis* that differentiate their own bodies from the bodies of resident Moroccans around them.

21. More female than male participants discussed passing in my data. This may indicate a gender distinction in practice, but it may also be a function of the imbalance of men and women who participated.

6.4.b. Interview extract: Can you see the difference?

Anissa and Shirin, Den Haag, 10 April 2008, 2m		
1	LW	everyone tells me/ oh they know: as soon as they see you
2	S	ya as so- o:h yes/ they know:. I don't know how,=
3	A	=you can go there and say you're- you're **spanish** or hohoho=whatever=
4	S	yah
5	A	=hehhehheh .h and the[y kno:w nti maghrebiya ((you(f) are Moroccan))
6	S	[but they- (.) but they- ya maghrebiya ((Moroccan)) yah. but eh: ya. if you have a djellaba eh:: a djellaba and eh:: and everything and [the bəlgha ((sandals)) they know
7	A	[yeah they will still- still see that you're from europe, that you're a moroccan european
8	S	well, o-other women are from there they have eh: jeans, and we are in djellaba, but they know.[(.) they are from Morocco and you are he.h:he.h [(LW and A laugh 2.1)
9	LW	um, can you- can you see difference? [°when you go°
10	S	[yeah, yeah! I see the diff[erence.
11	A	[I can't (.) no
12	S	I see the differe-
13	LW	what do you think is like/ anything in specific? or:
14	A	*oh ja een beetje wel h ja* [(.)*de kleding* *ya a little ok* [*the clothes*
15	S	[*ja ik zie het/ ja de kleding de haar ook,*(.) *ik we=niet de haar ook* [*ya I see that/ ya the clothes, the hair also,* (.) *I don't=know the hair also*
16	A	they- they're always straightening their hair
17	S	ja! ya!
18	A	toch? right?
19	S	ja en de shampoo, *ik weet niet/ en de kleding, toch wel jo#* jeans but= *the shampoo, i don't know/ and the clothing, but well yeah#*
20	LW	LW: yeah
21	A	=old fashioned jeans hahahahahh.h=
22	S	=*je zie 't ja ja anders* =*you see it ya ya other*
23	LW	the- the *maquillage*? of-

24	S	*maquillage ook.* [*ja! maquillage!* (.) *en het zwart ja,* *makeup also.* [*ya! makeup!* (.) *and it's black ya,*
25	A	A: [lip liner! lip liner! ahahhahha [.h ja
26	S	S: [(.) *ja je ziet `t wel (.) ik weet niet je ziet 't, e: ook ja/ hui:d denk ik, en ik begrijp `t eigenlijk wel dat ze `t zien hoor gelijk aan ons* [(.) *ya you see it a lot* (.) *I don't know you see it, e: also ya/ skin I think, and I do understand actually that they see it you know immediately on us*
27	A	*dat ze hun huid bleek maken bedoel je/* *that they make their skin pale you mean/*
28	S	*weet ik niet, ehm makeup of eh: ja gewoon* *I don't know, ehm makeup or eh: ja just*
29	LW	color, yeah
30	S	color, I don't know::/ *toch anders de zon en eh:* *but also the sun and eh:* (1.5)
31	A	yeah=
32	S	=ya, you see- you can see the difference (2.6)
33	LW	yeah=I=know there, um: (.) women often like to make themselves as white as possi[ble
34	A	[yea[h, it's terrible
35	S	[ya. and we want to make ourself eheheh black hehahaha .h haha
36	A	th- they don't do it in a good way, [they look very pale instead of looking white.
37	S	[nee!(.3) yeah, (.) yeah. [no! (1.5)
38	S	*wij betalen hier de:: zonnebank* [*ahahaha om bruin te worden en* they: makes: themselves eh ya *we pay here for the tanning salon* [*ahahaha to get tan and*
39	A	[yeah hehahaha
40	LW	I don't- I don't un- I still don't understand that
41	A	[[we don't even understand it
42	S	[[ya hahahahha we either

Shirin and Anissa build energy in this conversation to elicit a number of ways they can 'see the difference' between their own bodies and resident Moroccan women's bodies. Much of what they elicit as different refers to style,

demonstrated through clothing, hair, makeup and suntan. Their descriptions of these styles occasionally contain a value judgement, like 'old fashioned' jeans (turns 19-22) or Shirin's negative comment on the aesthetics of skin bleaching practiced by resident Moroccan women and Anissa's agreement (turns 36-37). Each aspect of stylistic embodiment they choose could be traced to flows of material culture and mass production of clothing like *djellaba*s and jeans (Miller 1995a); to flows of fashion and beauty that pass through Morocco (Ossman 2002); or to global inequalities and practices of skin whitening (Glenn 2009). In this analysis, each of these practices of embodimentality acts in assemblage, emerging as relevant to the ways DVs are perceived as 'Moroccan' or not.

Citing Poole (1997), Saldanha refers to sight recognition of stylistic choices in Goa as 'visual economy' (2007). In his case, he identifies certain visually-perceived attributes, like the symbol Om worn on clothing or deeply tanned skin, as ways that Goa 'freaks' could categorize themselves and distinguish their group from other commingling groups like package tourists and local residents. In his examples, the appropriation of Indian beliefs and the darkness of a tan marked a body as semi-resident because of the local circulation of material and expressive entities, like religious belief and sun. By extension they also index status along certain dimensions, like 'class' or 'vocation', that accompany the 'freaks' ability to embed themselves in the Goa 'scene'.

DVs are also practicing 'visual economy' in their ability to recognize how others fit in a local social hierarchy, yet their recognition of these elements as salient to categorization may not be consciously traced out to broader patterns. Skin whitening, for example, is a practice with a complex relationship to post-colonialism, symbolic capital, and class for women in the Global South (Glenn 2008), but Shirin and Anissa read it as inexplicable and opposite to their own practice of tanning. The practice of tanning is also interrelated with class dynamics and a shift from sun exposure as a sign of work to a sign of leisure (Dyer 1997 49-50). Most importantly for this context, a deeply tanned Moroccan body reliably indexes a DV body, through associations with styles of beauty and leisure practices that emerge in contradictory lines between the majority of resident Moroccan women and the majority of DVs.

Not all visual attributes are as clearly divided between 'being-Moroccan' or 'being-European'. Veiling, for example, emerges as an marker on DVs along stylistic lines, through styles of veil that can be linked to Europe, to Morocco, or to other parts of the Muslim world. In the course of fieldwork, I could not learn to recognize which ones or why, nor could I elicit an explanation from DV participants or local residents about those styles. It blends into embodimentality as something instantly perceived but difficult to identify.

All of these elements, from practices of embodimentality to the visual economic system through which it is perceived, contribute to the ability or inability to *pass* when attempted. When DVs target a visual element as a strategy to *pass*, such as wearing 'traditional' clothing like Shirin or Otman above (6.3.2.b), they disregard the complex of other embodied elements that are read on their bodies simultaneously. Choosing to wear a *djellaba*, the traditional Moroccan garment worn by both men and women, does not render the body that wears it necessarily 'Moroccan'

6.4.c. Interview extract: Walking in a djellaba

Anissa and Shirin, Den Haag 10 April 2008, 1m		
1	LW	do you ever wear djellabas and things like that there? or do-
2	S	there? ya eh:::::: no I can't walk with the h-djellaba-h-h,=
3	LW	no?
4	S	=but I la- I love to wear- wear it sometimes/ if I go to the **hammam** or something eh near,(.4) I eh wear a djellaba
5	LW	you can't walk? or you can-
6	S	no eh, w- ya, it's- it's- it's- **dif**ficult, I don't know, it's eh em (.) if you have the long djellaba, it's (.) *ja en je loopt toch een beetje:, je bent niet gewend, ik weet niet* *yeah and you walk like a little: you are not used to it, I don't know*
7	A	*bijna nooit <aandoen>* *I hardly <wear them>*
8	S	it's not that I cannot walk with it, but *ja het zit niet echt eh je moet `r effe aan wennen, want hier doe je `t nooit aan dus ja* *yeah, it doesn't sit right, you have to get used to it because you don't wear them here so yeah*
9	LW	it's different feeling, you have to walk slower hehahhah

10	S	ya! it's different ya. but it's **comfortable** because everything, (.3) you have the feeling everything is emm: (1.0)
11	A	[[covered
12	S	[[*bedekt/* covered
13	S	yeah, but *je moet `r aan wennen* *you have to get used to it*

Shirin verbalizes a sense of *hexis* in this excerpt. By describing how she finds it difficult to walk while wearing the typical Moroccan clothing, she also attests to a distinction in the way she is accustomed to walking from how resident women, at least those who wear a djellaba every day, walk. This attribute is visible to others around her as a tangible, if difficult to describe, entity of *hexis* – a visually perceived attribute that fits into the ways DVs are 'smelled' as being from elsewhere.

Shirin refers to the sense of being 'covered' as an internal sensation, as opposed to an expectation expressed by or produced in interaction with others. Noura, in the excerpt below, mentioned the same embodied affect as a result of social phenomenon.

6.4.d. Interview extract: Going out in a dress

Noura, Arena Palace Café, Fes, 29 July 2008 40sec		
1	N	...nous je vais dire euh: moi je vous dire eh: la journée je peut pas sortir en robe comme ça. la journée je-suis obligée de mettre un djellab- une djell[aba us, I'm saying, I'm telling you eh: during the day I can't go out in a dress like this, during the day I'm obligated to put on a djellab- a djel[laba
2	LW	[ouais °ouais° [yeah °yeah°
3	N	parce que: sinon c'est toute la journée eh (.4) les:: va dire eh/ les gens d'ici nous abordent, mais eh because: otherwise it's all day eh (1.4) the:: let's say eh/ the people from here talk to us but eh
4	LW	ouais yeah
5	N	avec eh (.) sans respect quoi. with eh (.) without respect right.
6	LW	ouais. (.) non mais pour moi ça- (.7) après- après un certain moment, ça: ça c'est devenu eh: [normale yeah. (.) no but for me it- (.7) after- after a certain point, it- it it's become eh: [normal
7	N	[normale [normal

8	LW	ouais/ parce que, même si je me mets eh: en djellaba ou rien du tout parce que avec la peau blanche c'est:: yeah/ because, even if I put myself in a djellaba or anything at all because with white skin it's::
9	N	bah ouais well yeah
10	LW	impossible impossible
11	N	mais nous aussi, nous même- avec la djellaba, ils nous reconnaissent juste à notre façon de marché but us also, for us even- with the djellaba, they know us just by our way of walking
12	LW	ouais, ouais yeah, yeah
13	N	ils savent (.3) ils connaissent they know (.3) they know

As these repeated descriptions show, attempts at *passing* visibly through clothing are an acceptable and common practice for DVs to negotiate 'not-being-Moroccan'. That said, I only rarely witnessed attempts like those described above, wherein a participant dressed in a specific way with the expressed purpose of being recognized as Moroccan. More often, I was present when participants went out with resident Moroccans, as described by Otman (6.3.2.b, turns 19-25) where the presence of a resident friend or family member provided an affect of 'localness' to the excursion – a model of *passing* through proximity.

Not all visual attributes are as clearly divided between 'being-Moroccan' or 'being-European'. Veiling, for example, emerges as an marker on DVs along stylistic lines, through styles of veil that can be linked to Europe, to Morocco, or to other parts of the Muslim world. In the course of fieldwork, I could not learn to recognize which ones or why, nor could I elicit an explanation from DV participants or local residents about those styles. It blends into embodimentality as something instantly perceived but difficult to identify.

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4	LW	ouais yeah
5	N	avec eh (.) sans respect quoi. with eh (.) without respect right.
6	LW	ouais. (.) non mais pour moi ça- (.7) après- après un certain moment, ça: ça c'est devenu eh: [normale yeah. (.) no but for me it- (.7) after- after a certain point, it- it it's become eh: [normal
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8	LW	ouais/ parce que, même si je me mets eh: en djellaba ou rien du tout parce que avec la peau blanche c'est:: yeah/ because, even if I put myself in a djellaba or anything at all because with white skin it's::
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11	N	mais nous aussi, nous même- avec la djellaba, ils nous reconnaissent juste à notre façon de marché but us also, for us even- with the djellaba, they know us just by our way of walking
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recognized as Moroccan. More often, I was present when participants went out with resident Moroccans, as described by Otman (6.3.2.b, turns 19-25) where the presence of a resident friend or family member provided an affect of 'localness' to the excursion – a model of *passing* through proximity.

While they may often express the opinion that dress is a way to achieve recognition as 'being-Moroccan', the low frequency of this practice, from what I observed during fieldwork, points to its inefficacy. Certain garments are incorporated into DV styles and form part of the vocabulary of 'Moroccan' clothes that DVs tend to wear. These items, however, are not the everyday exterior djellabas linked to *passing*, but styles of 'Moroccan' clothing that in fact embed them further in insular circuits of DV style (see 6.9.2 below). Attempts to *pass* by wearing a *djellaba* may be more common for women because of its link with a comfortable, embodied sense of modesty, as evoked in the extracts above. But djellabas do not eliminate strangeness, or even necessarily reduce it. The potential to *pass* is maintained by the idea that wearing the right clothing might diminish strangeness; that a DV embodimentality virtually maps onto a 'Moroccan' embodimentality closely enough that DVs could 'be-Moroccan' despite their 'not-Moroccan' *hexis*.

6.5. *Passing* audibly: The politics of speaking *derija*

> In fact, the youth say that they suffer immensely for not having the Moroccan dimension of their identity recognized there. Thus, Malika finished by accepting being considered nothing but a "tourist" in Morocco, like a person passing through without any attachment to the place. The main reason for this stigmatization is linguistic: the linguistic practices of these youth in their ancestral language are judged qualitatively and quantitatively mediocre by people in the homeland. (Melliani 2000, 68, my translation)[22]

Melliani makes this decisive statement in the context of her study on linguistic practices of Moroccan youth in and around Rouen. The interviewee she refers to, Malika, recounted being ridiculed by her family for her poor *derija*, leading to her decision to speak only French while in Morocco. Melliani characterizes this 'stigmatization' as primarily linguistic, reinforced by the way DV

22. Les jeunes, en effet, disent très massivement souffrir de ne pas voir la dimension maghrébine de leur identité là-bas reconnue. Ainsi, Malika a fini par accepter de n'être considérée au Maroc que comme une "touriste", c'est-à-dire finalement comme une personne de passage qui n'aurait aucune attache avec le pays visité. La principale raison de cette stigmatisation est langagière : les productions des jeunes en langue des origines sont jugées par les pays concernés comme qualitativement et quantitativement médiocres.

language skills are evaluated by the public in Morocco. Certainly, linguistic skills are cited more often in her interviews, in my interviews, and in literature on migrant bilingualism as a significant source of problematized 'identities' in line with ideologies of close relationships between national 'identity' and language (cf Zentella 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Indeed, linguistic practices are relatively easy to single out and classify through national labels and the institutions that categorize them. Yet linguistic practices constitute one part of a multiple embodimentality, in which, as Chen (2008) confirms in Hong Kong, styles of dress, gesture, embodiment, and language contribute to becoming recoginized as a return migrant. While linguistic practices provide complex resources to investigate how DVs negotiate attempts to 'be-Moroccan', it is important to contextualize them more broadly through embodimentality, as communicative practices that are embodied and visual as much as audible. The bodies who speak these words are materially relevant to the way these encounters play out.

In many cases, the sense of being recognized through language appears much more strongly and more viscerally than being recognized visually, as a means by which diasporic visitors can control how they are perceived, as Koven (2002) argues:

> Whereas in French, [Luso-Descendents] can use their monolingual performances effectively to distance themselves from images of migrants, in Portuguese they may be at a loss to do so. Their socialization into monolingual Portuguese has usually been more limited than into French. Although their knowledge of the boundaries between French and not-French is indisputable, they can less consistently demonstrate that they know the boundaries between Portuguese and not-Portuguese. Whereas skill and strategy defined their use of Portuguese in French, an experience of loss of control defines their use of French in Portuguese. The stakes of slipping are not small. When LDs fail to purge their Portuguese of Frantuguês, they may suddenly become "émigrés" to listeners.
>
> Through heightened metalinguistic attention to their own and others' Frantuguês, LDs may try to protect themselves from these stereotypes and identities. At times this attention takes the form of an anti-Frantuguês purism that may not always succeed. (2002, 280)

Koven describes a familiar scenario, populated by French nationals of Portuguese descent who return to Portugal as visitors or migrants. This displacement presents them with challenges to their habitual linguistic practices. Her assertions are accurate as well to the majority of Moroccan DVs, who attain some measure of skills in their ancestral language, but still can be recognized as

non-local speakers. Most importantly, she relates their 'metalinguistic attention' to their habitually and normatively codeswitched combination of French and Portuguese and the pointed efforts made to diminish that communicative practice for a 'purism that may not always succeed'. In other words, her participants could also be described as attempting to *pass* by trying to perform linguistically when in Portugal as local speakers of Portuguese instead of multilingual Luso-Descendents from France.

In examining linguistic and communicative practices, this section targets moments when language became relevant to the course of interaction not necessarily as a tool for communication, but as a symbolic token relevant to being recognized as 'Moroccan'. In other words, this analysis is not focused on measuring or determining the abilities of DV participants to practice *derija*, the most prevalent spoken language in Morocco. Instead, it targets moments where being able to speak *derija* or one of the Amazigh dialects native to Morocco became part of a DV's strategy for *passing* audibly. I think through these processes by drawing on sociolinguistic theories related to talk-in-interaction, including Conversation Analysis (CA), Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA), and Communicative Accommodation Theory (CAT) (Giles *et al*. 1991; Hester and Eglin 1997; Sacks 1998). While each of these is to some extent a separate strain of analysis, they share a basis in micro-analysis of interactive communicative encounters, and enable me to make some statements about what participants 'do' with language as opposed to 'say' with language. The main outlet for 'doing with language' I targeted was bargaining in Moroccan markets, engaging consumption practice along with communicative practice in moments when DVs are negotiating 'being-Moroccan'. That analysis will be presented in the latter part of this section. The first examples reflect metalinguistic encounters, where use of different codes, along a dimension of 'national language' become a point of disjuncture or tension in DVs efforts to *pass*.

6.5.1. Explicit practices: Policing derija

Pressure to speak the local 'Moroccan' code – usually referred to as 'Arabic' but for specificity here called *derija* – is one of the primary ways that DVs experience the distinction between themselves as non-local Moroccans and the

presumably 'local', resident Moroccans surrounding them in Morocco.

6.5.1.a. Fieldnote extract: Brahim's parents house, Tangier, 16 July 2008

> We all departed for Brahim's parents house, somewhere up the hill, not knowing the way very well. [daughter] was convinced that she knew, leading us down roads and Souad indulged her.
> ...
> Brahim's father makes two comments in the course of eating lunch that resonate: when Brahim is talking to his daughter, his father says in Arabic, you must speak arabic to her. later, during the fruit, he says to his granddaughter, 'hna fi marokko. khusek tHdr bil3arabiya oula nkhullik 3and el police.' [we are in Morocco, you have to speak Arabic or we will leave you at the police] or something along those lines.
> ...
> Malika and Souad are telling [daughter] as we walk that she should speak arabic in the street or else people will know
> Malika comments to me that her uncle told her this when she was young as well, that she shouldn't speak dutch in the street or people would know and raise the prices.

The problem with this kind of encouragement to speak *derija* (or discouragement of speaking a European language) is that communicative practice is precisely that: practiced. As discussed in the Introduction, the circumstances under which migrants learn to use their ancestral languages usually varies distinctly from the context in which they are expected to reproduce it. That said, it is not uncommon for parents (or in this case, grandparents) to take a role in 'policing' language use when *place* shifts and the post-migrant's normal linguistic practice is considered too weighted towards the European language. By this time, the learned, habitual abilities will never match the expected ones, unless particular effort is made to transform linguistic practice. In fact, peer groups have a stronger influence on continued development and use of an ancestral, migrant language, in that communication with contemporaries encourages stylistic development of hybridized practice as opposed to symbolic usage (Dabène and Moore 1995, Koven 2002; 2004). These evolutions, however, take place off of the soil of the homeland, and so are in some ways are a foreign code, rooted in another *place*.

Whereas expectations enmeshed in approaching the attractor 'Moroccan' dictate that post-migrant DVs are speakers of *derija*, in actuality their practice, even when they have a relatively easy command of *derija*, exhibits markers of their 'being-European'. They might use expressions that are outdated, have accents influenced by their parents (often rural) origins or by their European language, or

use codeswitching in a way that is identifiable as non-local (cf Koven 2002 or Chen 2008 for parallel observation). Thinking of this in terms of embodimentality, their recognizable accents are intensively embedded in bodies, part of what is instinctively 'smelled' as 'not-quite-Moroccan'. These clues that they are not 'authentically' native speakers, even though *derija* may be one of their home languages, lead to situations where the complexity of language use reflects on their desires and abilities to 'be-Moroccan' by audibly masking their 'Europeanness'.

6.5.2. Implicit practices: Being replied to in French

6.5.2.a. Interview extract: 'I'm from Morocco'

Anissa and Shirin, Den Haag, 10 April 2008, 1m10		
1	LW	did you ever find that someone was () speaking **Dutch** to you? that- like (.) someone from Morocco would speak in Dutch? or no?
2	A	ahhm::: no, just say words, like if they know you are from (.) Holland, you know/ *alles goed* [*alles goed*?(.) well something like that, but um (.3) uh: mostly people speak **French** if they know you're from ah: (.) Europe. (.3)
		everything good [*everything good*?
3	S	[*alles goed ja-*
		[*everything good yes*
4	LW	yeah
5	A	like if they see it or they hear it, (.)=
6	S	yeah
7	A	=cause you have an accent, they'll start talking in French to you. (.) and I'm always like, I don't speak **French**, I speak **Arabic**.
8	LW	h h h h
9	A	[[<I hate it when they speak>-
10	S	[[I always speak Arabic. whn- I- and when they ask me where're you from I say I'm- (.) I- I s- (.) I-I-I: (.) say I'm from Morocco.
11	LW	yeah.(.5) do they believe you?
12	S	no he[hehehehehe .h hahah .h *maar ik blijf toe* xx I'm from Morocco! no you're not from Morocco. yes! I'm froheheh, where're you from then hehehehe .hhh then eh: ya I'm from eh Rabat I live here and here/[but they know.
		but i stay with it
13	A	[hehehh he .h he [yeah
		(1.3)
14	LW	°they always know°
15	S	yeah, they always know, but I don't know, I don't like to say it/ I'm from eh ya *ik niet* ((*I'm not*)).hh hhhehehe

One of the most common linguistic frustrations reported by DVs was an interaction like the one described above: being spoken to in French, often despite having begun the interaction by speaking *derija*, or even not being a French speaker. This was a practice more evident through reporting than through the observation. None of the interactions I recorded in Morocco included examples of DVs initiating talk in *derija* and being replied to immediately or exclusively in French. Some included French codeswitching, but these were almost entirely in situations where DVs first initiated the codeswitching. Others were interactions where DVs prompted a switch to French by silence indicating non-comprehension of *derija* (see 6.7.1.a for an observed instance). Yet being replied to in French was a practice on the part of resident Moroccans reported by a number of participants, who linked it implicitly to their sense of belonging through linguistic *descent*.

As mentioned in the historical contexts chapter (2.3.1), French is part of the sociolinguistic landscape of Morocco as an imported code that has become embedded in status structures, as di- or triglossic (Walters 1996) community of linguistic practice. That is, alongside standard Arabic, French exists as a normal code in Morocco, but not the normal code; it has become associated with certain kinds of elevated status that index economic power as well as access to Europe (Marley 2004). Replying in French, even when the initial speaking turn was in *derija*, can be a normal conversation between resident Moroccans under contextually appropriate conditions. Switching to French (which is not the same as normative codeswitching between *derija* and French) might result from a number of conversational or social cues, such as an addressee recognizing the initiator as elite, and therefore assuming a preference for French or wishing to demonstrate his or her competence in an status-elevating code. On the other hand, in encounters between resident Moroccans and DVs, switching to French could indicate the addressee's rejection of the initiator's claim to 'being-Moroccan' through speaking the Moroccan code. All of these possibilities are part of each interaction, and as evidenced by the excerpts below, DVs interpret this practice differently. They all, however, interpret it as a dispreferred response.

As with Anissa and Shirin's conversation above, being replied to in French becomes in many cases tantamount to contesting *descent* by rejecting one's

assertion of 'being-Moroccan' accomplished by speaking *derija*. Anissa describes the practice as instigated by a resident Moroccan recognizing her accent in Arabic (turn 7), a part of her audible embodimentality that she cannot manipulate. Her comment assumes that other aspects of her embodimentality were not equally marked as 'not-being-Moroccan', like style of dress, *hexis*, or other linguistic aspects like grammatical usage or lexicon. Shirin adds to this discussion by describing how she resists being made strange by insisting that she is from Morocco (turns 10-12), despite the fact that no one believes her. The way they describe and react to memories of this phenomenon speaks to the negotiation of *passing* through embodimentality that is multiple and unfixed. DVs feel themselves to be recognized as strange, and despite efforts to *pass* – like speaking *derija* – they are 'Othered' through codeswitching.

6.5.2.b. Interview extract: But everyone speaks French!

Said, Paris, 9 Feb 2008, 40sec		
1	S	alors euh: non, je parle pas, j'essaie pas parler français là-bas. well euh: no, I don't speak, I try not to speak French there
2	LW	mmm
3	S	quand je vais:: à la banque, euh: (.) je parle- j'essaie de parler **berbère**, j'essaie pas parler français,(.4) mais on parle <de suite> français! hhh ha! comme eux/ ils parlent le français, ils ont fait des études, when I go:: to the bank, euh: (.) I speak- I try to speak **berber**, I try not to speak French, (.4) but everyone speaks French <right away>! hhh ha! like they/ they speak French, they have studied
4	LW	oua[is yea[h
5	S	[il veulent pratiquer la langue/ [they want to practice the language
6	LW	ouais yeah
7	S	à l'occasion, donc=quand=ils te voient, bah e::(.) # ils essaient de parler français. # alors que, tu veux parler: eh l'arabe. (.) là=mais=ils arrivent tu sais t- t'es quand-même euh: (.6) t'es quand-même euh:: buh moi j'ai tout les ans, j'ai des expériences qui prouvent bien que tu es vu comme étranger là-bas! (1.1) tu es vu comme étranger là-bas, ça c'est certain, (.9) t'es pas- te- (.) quand tu vais là-bas on dit que t'es français.

		at the opportunity, so=when=they see you, bah e::(.) # they try to speak French. #even though, you want to speak: eh Arabic. (.) there=but=they manage you know y- you're still euh: (.6) you're still euh:: buh every year I have experiences that strongly prove that you are seen as a stranger there! (1.1) you are seen as a stranger there, that is certain, (.9) you're not- yer- (.) when you go there everyone says you are French.

Said interprets his memories of being replied to in French at the bank not as necessarily disaffiliative, but as frustratingly adding to his *strangeness*. He describes interlocutors as using him to practice speaking French (turn 3), honing their skill in his natively-spoken elite language. He pairs this with the assertion that 'they know immediately', i.e. they know that he is *strange*, making a connection between the marked change of code and his own identity as stranger. His assumption is that part of what is accomplished when they speak French to him is recognizing him as 'European'.

6.5.2.c. Interview extract: 'I don't speak French'

Meryem B, Antwerp, 9 April 2008, 1m		
1	LW	I hear a lot about like (.) m- m- m-Moroccans from Morocco: kind of making jokes? about (.) eh: the way the kharij- the way that people [from outside speak yeah
2	M	[that we speak hehehhhehhyeahheh
3	LW	did that ever happen to you? orz:
4	M	yeah they- they can hear. sometimes I'm- I'm asking a que- I remember that I went to a store, and I asked a question, in Arab, (.) and they answered me in French. and I was=like I don't speak French and they were yes you a- you do speak French, because you are from Europe and I was=h=like, I may be from Europe, you've saw that or you have heard 't very well, but (.) I- I don't speak French hehhehhh .h so I really was/ answer me in Arab!=b(hh)ecause I don't understand you hehhh. those things happen a lot/ even in the market/ like people answer you in French or something because they- (.6) maybe they do that for(h) fun(h), or maybe they d-do that because they think they can help you better, in a- another language, but .h I really like to prefer to stay with arab,

Meryem B's story evokes how this practice is relevant not only to 'being-Moroccan' in Morocco, but also 'being-European' as a DV in Morocco. In her version, the interlocutor (or possibly more than one) defends switching to French because she is evidently from Europe, equating 'all-Europeans' with 'French-speakers' and putting her in that category instead of the '*derija*-speaker' category she asserted by asking her initial question in *derija*. In her recounting, she first considers this a disaffiliative stance which might be taken purposefully – 'for fun', at her expense – then

considers it could be intended as an affiliative stance – switching to French to 'help better'. For her, the switch seems to have been felt even more disaffiliatively because, as a native Flemish speaker, French does not respond to her communicative practices or preferences. Unlike Said, a native French speaker, switching to French does not signal elite status for Meryem. Rather, it creates further exclusion.

Grouping all Europeans together as all French-speakers is probably more reflective of the triglossic context of Morocco rather than any actively disaffiliative stance against non-French-speaking diasporic Moroccans. French is unarguably a language that signifies high cultural capital in Morocco (Bourdieu 1991), and continues to do so for Moroccans inside and outside of Morocco. In support of this claim, Sanae, the only French-speaking Belgian participant, related to me that her father made a conscious choice to move his family to a French-speaking part of Belgium, so that they would access that higher value language instead of Flemish. In these momentary interactions, switching to French could be interpreted as much a status-raising effort as a border-making act, or as linguistic accommodation (Giles *et al*. 1991). In marketplace interactions, being replied to in French has a more practical and vital consequence:

6.5.2.d. Interview extract: You are not from here, so the prices go up

Mohammed and Fouzia, Marrakech, 27 May 2008, 40sec		
1	LW	when you walk in the souk do people speak to you in Arabic? or
2	M	in Arabic/ mostly in Arabic. [it's eh=
3	F	[some of them also in eh French
4	M	=in English, French, in Dutch, in::
5	F	when you ask them the price, of something, they always re-eh <s>pond in French.
6	LW	really.
7	F	yeah [it's very odd, because (.5) you speak with them in Arabic, they know you speak Arabic and they-(.) they talk to you in French. (.4) it's very frustrating hehh
8	M	[but also
9	M	yes but they- they: we have eh an accent eh:::,[the Arabic we speak, so they hear (.3)=
10	LW	[mmmm mmmm
11	LW	right

12	M	=you are not from:- from here, so and then eh: (.8) the prices are ehh (.5) hh=going=h=up=hhheh
13		((LW and F laugh))

Mohammed makes the interpretive move from being replied to in French, when he asks for a price, to being marked as 'non-local' by being given what he assumes is a higher price. Fouzia feels that their French response is frustrating (turn 4), but it is not clear from her description to what extent the vendor's reply is in French. In fact, it is not uncommon in normative *derija*-French codeswitching to use French for numbers (see Wagner 2006). Fouzia may interpret this French-language price as a marked, disaffiliative codeswitch, addressed at her 'accent' or audible embodimentality of 'non-local Moroccanness'. Mohammed, likewise, interprets changing to French as linked with a strange embodimentality through accent, and therefore with rising prices (turn 9-12).

In all these extracts, DVs demonstrate the assumption that *derija* **is** the local code, without considering other contextual and status cues that might prompt normative, local codeswitching. Their interpretations of switching into French are colored by what Fouzia calls 'frustration' and linked with the interpretation that their audible, linguistic embodimentality of 'being-Moroccan' is rejected. Yet not being able to speak *derija* like a native, or possibly not recognizing *derija*-French codeswitching as a local unmarked code, is a conversationally relevant cue of their status. This status, in Mohammed's description, is equated with 'not-being-Moroccan' and therefore not getting the right price on the market.

6.6. *Passing* on the market: Becoming 'children of this country' or becoming 'tourists' by getting the 'right price'

Getting the right price is a meaningful way that DVs interpret their recognition as 'Moroccan'. In the more intricate linguistic examples reviewed below, and in many others that are too numerous to include here, the problem of achieving the 'right' price in interaction on the market is equated to, in some way, having a connection to Morocco. The logic for this lies in the dynamics of bargaining as a linguistic activity that calls upon situationally advantageous dimensions of 'Moroccanness' as part of communicative and consumption practices through embodimentality

Drawing on my previous work (Wagner 2006) I first want to establish some perspectives on bargaining as a practice incorporating both linguistic and consumption practices. Bargaining is an everyday skill of some status and recognition in Morocco (Geertz *et al*. 1979) in which interlocutors routinely incorporate specific aspects of 'identity' in the course of conversation that signify 'local' and 'Moroccan' (Kapchan 1996), in order to establish commonalities that encourage mutual understanding on price. To do so, vendors and buyers make judgements about each other based on initial impressions that have relatively little to do with the cost of the object, but can have an important influence on the final agreed price (if it is achieved). Prices, whether fixed or unfixed, are emergent as a negotiation between potential buyers and potential sellers, as collectives or as individuals, that determine value in terms of what a buyer is willing to pay for a given object.

Because bargaining has waned from everyday use in Europe, it is a linguistic practice that DVs primarily learn in Morocco, but often learn 'incorrectly', in that they are not linguistically skilled and culturally aware of specific rhetoric or genres used in bargaining. For example, religious identities can be invoked as part of successful bargaining (Kapchan 1996, ch. 2); although DVs may have witnessed this done by an elder (Wagner 2006, 55-56), in none of the examples I have recorded or witnessed have any of them attempted to use religion as part of their strategies. Instead, most often, they focus on being recognized as 'Moroccan' as opposed to being a 'tourist', and in the supposed 'real' price that this status should bestow upon them.

To build on my previous work about the notion of embodimentality, not being able to bargain according to local practices intersects with DVs' frustrated efforts to *pass* as 'being-Moroccan'. While they interpret what they assume to be higher prices as disaffiliative conversational acts by vendors – defining them as 'being-European' when they wish to be defined as 'being-Moroccan' – their efforts to *pass* simply by speaking *derija* are insufficient in this context to achieve the status they want. By requesting or even demanding the 'real' price or the 'Moroccan' price instead of a 'tourist' price, DVs indicate a link they imagine between their communicative practices aimed at 'being-Moroccan' through

descent and the consumption status they imagine that should bestow them in *place*. In other words, they negotiate an association between their practices of embodimentality and the prices they pay for material goods, giving a monetary value to 'being-Moroccan' and a seemingly clear indicator – the vendor's response – of 'not-being-Moroccan'.

For the intended outcome of these interactions – that is, agreeing on a price – *place* is in fact a much more relevant dimension than *descent* because economic status operates as a function of it more than the latter. For most vendors, the value of what DVs might want to buy is governed more closely by considerations of *place* – the means a 'European' customer is presumed to have at his or her disposal and the likelihood she or he will bring repeat business – than manifestations of 'Moroccanness' as *descent*. DVs often interpret this broader orientation towards value as a rejection of 'being-Moroccan' in all ways, through *descent* as much as *place*. Furthermore, all the interaction examples and the majority of interviews in this section come from Marrakech, where each of the participant DVs were visiting on holidays taken separately from visits 'home'. They are therefore negotiating being non-local both as 'being-European' and as not being locally resident in that *place*, in the sense that they do not come to a family home in Marrakech on regular holidays. 'Being-European' reflects on one's economic power, but being locally resident (as very few customers are in the Marrakech souk) means an increased possibility that one will return as repeat business and bring other potential buyers. Both of these aspects enter into vendors' considerations of *value*.

The following examples review ways that DVs negotiate their embodimentality to bargain through three specific strategies: using embodimentality in defense of *descent*, using embodimentality to attach oneself to *place*, and engaging a proxy body to become 'Moroccan-by-*descent*' in concert with someone who is considered 'Moroccan-in-*place*'.

6.6.1. Value: A function of descent *or* place*?*

6.6.1.a. Interaction extract: The 'real' price

Latifa, Marrakech, 16 June 2008, 20sec		
1	L	je vais encore t'embeter deux petit seconds
		I'm going to bother you just two seconds more

2	V 2	((jokingly)) ça y, prenez votre sense, <tranquilité> () les appliques šad# that's enough, be on your way <peace> (.) the lighting fixtures closed#
3	V	non non non non °ne prenez votre° no no no no °not take your°
4	L	šal temen* 'ow much ((*prosody and pronunciation markedly French))
5	V	laquelle?[en fer fourgé? which one? [in wrought iron?
6	L	[c'e- oui [that- yes
7	V	oui yes
8	L	la bri- the bri-
9	V	celle-là tu m'as pas dit celle-là bien <avan[t> that one you didn't tell me that one much <earlie[r>
10	L	[celle-là là [that one there
11	V	celle-là elle vend à trois cent cinquante dirham that one she sells at three hundred fifty dirham
12	L	non! le vrai prix! mhhhh no! the real price! mhhh
13	V	((playacting voice)) le vrai prix? trois cent! [(.) si t'as raison ehh xxx the real price? three hundred! [(.) of course you're right ehh xxx
14	L	[.ha' ((laughing silently)) ((laughing voice)) <j'étais très fort> °'h'h'h'h° <I was too good> °'h'h'h'h°

In this very brief bargaining token, at the end of a longer sequence of bargaining over lampshades in Marrakech, Latifa makes a parting enquiry about another lampshade. Given a price, she makes an immediate and insistent reply, asking for the 'real' price (turn 12). The vendor laughingly replies with a 'real' price, cutting fifty dirham from the original quote, as though it were his mistake to give her a non-real quote first (turn 13). She laughs at his response, and continues laughing and mocking her own enthusiasm in bargaining. This moment, and others that occurred in close parallel to this structure, reflect an assumption held by many DVs that there is a hidden 'real' price for each object, which vendors choose to reveal to the right ('Moroccan') customers.

Many participants made explicit links between not getting a 'right', 'real', or 'Moroccan' price and a sense of being recognized as 'European'. Much as Mohammed and Fouzia discussed in the previous section (6.5.2.d), linguistic practices encountered in the course of bargaining with vendors are interpreted by DVs as signaling their strangeness and linked to a tendency for prices to rise. Many DVs link 'Moroccanness' as a linear causal outcome to speaking *derija*, with the implication that speaking the 'right' language should lead to getting the 'right' price. Fouzia provided one example of this: as she was one of the few Arabic speakers in the large group of Dutch students traveling together, she had been often called upon as the negotiator by her friends. Latifa's bargaining strategy is also linked to this belief. The majority of her conversation with these vendors had been in French, as she is of Amazigh origin and only speaks a few words of *derija*. She deploys her knowledge of *derija* for a single turn (4), to ask the price in *derija* that is clearly marked by a French native speaker accent. This interpretation of using *derija* as 'being-Moroccan' assumes that these are the only two attractors in play – 'Moroccan' or 'stranger', one who knows the 'real' price and one who does not.

Yet being 'Moroccan' is clearly more complex. Embedded within this attractor are salient distinctions of class status and wealth, alongside expectations about how much things cost, that are mixed with dimensions of *descent* and *place* and have an influence on perceptions of value. DVs engage in strategies to be recognized as 'Moroccan' – to *pass* – in order to achieve this 'right', 'real', 'Moroccan' price, but getting the 'real' price is, of course, an inattainable goal in a non-fixed price market. Prices are multiplicities, in interaction with buyer, seller, supply, demand, and any number of other agents. In this case, 'Moroccanness' is made relevant in how dimensions of it interact with values for objects on the market.

Value, as opposed to price, is more clearly something negotiated between parties and emergent in multiplicity. In his treatment of the visits of British tourists to Peru, Desforges (2001) reflects on travelers' discourses of money and value that indicate a distance between the perceived authenticity of the experience and monetary exchange:

> Here we see travellers drawing on the idea 'that once money invades the realm of personal relations it inevitably bends those relations in the direction of instrumental rationality' (Zelizer 1994, 11). Because monetary exchange is seen

> as based on pecuniary interest, it seems to mitigate against 'authentic' relationships with others. When travellers are associated with money, they perceive themselves as identified as tourists, with subsequent inability to engage 'genuinely' with place. (Desforges 2001, 359)

This sentiment resonates with diasporic visitors, who, because of their status as 'being-European' are generally seen to be more economically powerful than local residents. This impression of economic disparity follows logically from the habits of DVs, who tend to spend money, in essence, as though they are on holiday. As such, vendors are not necessarily classifying DVs as entirely strange, but recognizing that they inherently have access to what is perceived as higher economic status in Europe, making them more likely to accept a higher value basis on merchandise. In other words, because they are from Europe, they are used to things costing more than they normally do in Morocco. As Rabia expresses in the extract below, she has on occasion been surprised to learn that what she thought was an inflated one was, in fact, the 'right price':

6.6.1.b. Interview extract: Cost of living

Rabia, Marrakech, 13 June 2008, 30sec		
1	LW	je sais que:: (1.0) parfois c'est dur de négocier, ou bien: I know that:: (1.0) sometimes it's hard to negotiate, or maybe:
2	R	mais parfois non, on a l'impression/ que:- que:/ que c'est cher, (.5) par contre t'es avec une personne d'ici qui te diras que c'est le prix,(.3) but sometimes no, we have the impression/ that:- that:/ that it's expensive, (.5) in contrast you're with a person from here who tells you it's the price,(.3)
3	LW	mmm
4	R	donc en fait hehehfinalement, euh:/ l'inflation c'est partout quoi hh il=n'y=pas=qu'en France/ même au Maroc so in fact hehehfinally, uh:/ inflation is everywhere you know hh it's=not=only=in France/ even in Morocco

Rabia was the only interviewee to state this perspective, and one of the few DVs to express awareness at all that the cost of living in Morocco may not be as cheap as comparatively perceived to be. This disparity in price expectation is based in differences in defining value: DVs tend to retain an impression of Morocco from their occasional visits, and from their first gateway – through family – as a place where things are less expensive than Europe. Significantly, recent trends in Marrakech, where this conversation took place, have increased the cost of living there primarily because of the increase in foreign interests, property owners, and

tourist traffic (Minca 2006). But her recollections are also reflective of the way expectation of value is a source of disparity between DVs and resident Moroccans. In one example I have previously analyzed (Wagner 2006) a DV buyer offered a low price for a handmade table, devaluing it far below what the vendor could accept to the extent that he reacted very negatively during the negotiation. It is not uncommon that DVs' sense of valuation for objects from Morocco is lower than resident Moroccans vendors feel it should be.

In this first extended example of bargaining, notions of value are made relevant to ideas of 'being-Moroccan' along dimensions of *descent* and then *place* by the DVs and vendors involved. Hicham and his wife Latifa are negotiating for a painting intended as a present for her mother. They told me that he does the negotiating because he speaks *derija* fluently. Over a series of turns, Hicham engages in an exposition referring to his 'Moroccanness' by *descent* but it does not achieve his desired result of earning him a 'Moroccan' price.

6.6.1.c. Interaction extract: 'Limited budget'

Hicham, Latifa, Vendor, Vendor2; Marrakech, 14 June 2008, 1m40s		
1	V	aš gulti ʿajbat? what did you say you like?
2	L	ce qui est carré la, combien il peu xx the one that's square there, how much could it xx
3	V	*huit cent* *eight hundred*
4	H	sowweb mʿana temen məzyen afek ašrif deal me a good price please mister
5	V	wullah fi xx I swear in it xx
6	L	j'ai mal au coeur eh I'm in shock
7	V	*le prix qui est affiché mille deux cent. xx toi tu as dit le prix pour l'étudiant* *the price that's on the tag one thousand two hundred. xx you you said the price for a student*
8	L	étudiant. moi je suis plus ()xx c'est pire qu'etudiant, c'est un xx student. me I'm more ()xx it's worse than a student it's a xx
9	H	la maši hna, hna maši étudiant(s) hna uled bled hna jina ḫəna bash [nfarḫ- nfarḫou bil bled no not us, we're not *student*(*s*) we're children of the country we came here to [be hap- be happy with the country

10	V	[la xx *étudiant* ḥəssən min uled elbled yanni ra baqe teyqrau mʿanduš flus. [ḫəṣek tsaʿdu baš yəḫodi elpiyasa
		[no xx *student* is better that child of the country because (he who is) still studying doesn't have money. [you have to help them so they can take their purchases
11	H	[hna () hna bġina temen məzyen ʿandna elflus li- *budget* = *limité* hna, temen-
		[we () we want a good price, we have money li- *budget* =*limited* we, price-
12	L	c'est vous?
		it's you?
13	V	*hn*?
14	L	c'est vous qui ait peigné
		it's you who painted it?
15	V	*non eh non*
		no eh no
16	L	ça c'est pas beau enh. écoute, combien
		that's not good enh. listen, how much
17	V	xx jeunes artists xx
		xx young artists xx
18	L	celui là- celui là xx trois cent?
		that one there- that one there xx three hundred?
(1.2)		
19	V	xx
		((nonverbal reaction))
20	L	hahahahhahhhh
21	V	<w> hadek un metre carré
		xx that one *one meter square*
22	L	un metre carré
		one meter square
(11.8) ((background activity – looking for change for other customer))		
23	H	hehehhhehh (1.2) ils sont qəṣḥeyn eh wullah (.7) qəṣḥeyn bəzzef
		hehehhhehh (1.2) *they are* hard I swear (.7) really hard
24	L	Hicham, tu préfères celui là toi (.5) y a aucune [xx
		Hicham, you prefer this one you (.5) there's no [xx
25	H	[c'est pas les touristes hna
		[*it's not tourists* us
(10.0) ((end of other negotiation in background; L discussing painting with her friend))		
26	H	šti, šti hna, hna ʿandna *passeport* **maġrebi**, w ʿandna la *carte* ***nationale*** w ʿandna **kull**ši tʿaal maġreb/=
		look look we, we have **Moroccan** *passports*, and we have ***national*** *identity* cards and we have **all** the stuff of Morocco/=
27	V	=mərḥaba mərḥababikum=
		=welcome, welcome to you((pl))=

28	H	=ḫəsna temen **maġrebi**, maḫəsnaš temen eh
		=we need a **Moroccan** price, we don't need a price
29	L	il y a pas
		there isn't
30	H	smaʿ elḥədara elhamdullah ra keyn eh
		listen to the speech, thanks to God, there will be
31	V	fin gaʿa din fi-
		where are you in-
((L discussing painting with her friend; overlapping))		
32	H	hna, raḫna ḫəna fi mərrakš fi:
		we, we came here to Marrakech in:
33	V	la la fin fin katʿayšu
		no no where where do you live
34	H	fransa
		France
35	V	fransa fina blasa
		France in what place
36	H	ḫəda l'allemagne ḫəda Mulhouse, tʿaref Mulhouse?
		near *Germany* near *Mulhouse*, do you know *Mulhouse*?
37	V	*Mulhouse*
38	H	*Strasbourg*
39	L	tres loin, Strasbourg
		very far, Strasbourg
40	H	Strasbourg, Mulhouse, Besançon hadi hiya el-
		Strasbourg, Mulhouse, Besançon that's it the-
41	V	mərḥaba. ari təmənalif.
		welcome. give me eight thousand.
42	H	la,(.) la la təmənalif=
		no,(.) no no eight thousand=
43	L	=šhal təmənal[if
		=how much is eight thous[and
44	H	[*quatre cent dirham* la la walu. (.) la la la:.
		[*four hundred dirham* no no nothing. (.) no no no:.
45	V	aṭeni *trois cent*
		give me *three hundred*
46	H	gəbila gultina *trois cent cinquante/ trois cent* ra
		before you told us *three hundred fifty/ three hundred* that's
47	L	c'est xx trois cent
		it's xx three hundred
48	V	ʿaya ʿaya heyt njib fiha reduction xx
		hey hey cause I'll bring it in on discount xx
49	H	šti daba ḫemsin dərhəm ma fiha walu, šti daba hna mlli kan jina ḫəna, katḥdəru ġir b *les cents les deux cents* makeyn ġir, məlli kansəksiu šḥal

		you see now fifty dirham there's nothing in it, you see now we since we came here, you speak only with *the hundreds the two hundreds* there's not just, when we ask how much
50	V2	ra mabġitiš temši lilbled nətana so you don't want to come to this country of ours

With three principal speakers and other peripheral participants in the background, this multilayered conversation is more complex than space permits for a complete analysis. For the purposes of this section, I concentrate on Hicham's discourse with the vendor, which took place principally in *derija*. According to Latifa's declared linguistic competences, as well as the placement and content of her interjections, she was likely not a comprehending listener to *derija* conversation, except in moments such as turns 41 to 44, where Amazigh cognates – in this case numbers – were used[23]. Hicham, as the designated negotiator on her behalf, makes conversational turns emphasizing his 'Moroccanness' from turn 9 and continues these attempts to *pass* through most of the excerpt. He claims to 'be-Moroccan' first by identifying himself as one of the 'children of this country' (turn 9) in response to the vendor's rejection of his price. The vendor replies that the price he asked for is a 'student price'; so low that it would be an act of charity for a starving student (turn 10). Hicham replies that they have a 'limited budget', at which point Latifa engages the vendor in bargaining for a lower price because he did not paint the canvas himself, and by offering another too-low price for another painting. In turn 26, Hicham returns to bargaining, reasoning that he is subject to all the Moroccan bureaucratic papers that signify citizenship and nationality by *descent* – with the vendor 'welcoming' him mid-utterance – then asking the vendor for a 'Moroccan price'. The vendor replies by asking where he lives (turns 31-33); then immediately offering a price that is still more expensive than their budget.

Hicham's attempts to be recognized as Moroccan in this excerpt are focused exclusively on being 'Moroccan-by-*descent*'. They do not work the way he hopes they will: the vendor does not adequately lower the price on the painting under discussion, instead introducing a dimension of *place* while Hicham is insisting on his 'Moroccanness' by *descent*. The vendor asks where he lives and, establishing

23. Even though *derija* is the principal language of this conversation, Latifa's contributions in French are not italicized, because it is her principal language. Her contribution in *derija* is underlined, because in inflection and pronunciation it is clearly her secondary language. In converse, the vendor's French contributions are italicized.

that he is from France, requests a price that Hicham again finds too expensive. The immediacy of sequence between these turns – from 'France in what place' to 'give me eight thousand' – seems to imply a connection between Hicham's place of provenance and the quoted price on the part of the vendor.

The last two lines quoted here are particularly interesting as an intersection of communicative and consumption practices as they reflect on value. Hicham makes a complaint, that 'you' (which is not clearly these vendors or Marrakech vendors in general) only speak in large denominations (orders of one or two hundred dirham), to which another vendor (not the one with whom he has been negotiating) makes a reply questioning his desire to visit 'this country of ours' (turn 50). Hicham's surprise at dealing with large denominations is understandable, as most daily items in Morocco cost within a single- or double-digit range; however, the object he is considering buying – an original painting – is not an everyday item, nor something that most locally resident Moroccans would normally buy. Hicham's continued rejection of prices, and his general accusation to the vendors that they 'only speak in hundreds', reflects on his comprehension of value of this painting as a piece of original art, disregarding the labor required to create it, and what value the artist's and the vendors' labor has embedded in a 'Moroccan' *place*. In all, thirty Euro (the equivalent of the last quoted price in this extract) is not an unreasonable value for an original work of art.

Moreover, Hicham's style of bargaining does not adhere to common practice ameliorating the relationship between client and vendor through rhetoric. The tone of this negotiation is more insistent and plaintive than harmonious and affiliative, as Hicham repeatedly claims his 'right' to 'Moroccanness' rather than demonstrating it through his communicative practices. This was not the only episode of bargaining in my data with Hicham that developed into an argumentative, heated conversation about value explicitly attributed to places in Europe and Morocco. Despite the somewhat accusatory remark by the second vendor in turn 50, the subsequent few minutes of conversation (not quoted here) are not a continuation of Hicham claiming 'Moroccanness', but a discussion on the effects of inflation felt in Morocco and in France.

Later in the negotiations, Hicham makes further arguments about value. He claims that they will have to dismantle the painting to bring it on the plane, and then pay twenty-five Euro to have it reframed in France, adding to his total costs. These are logical arguments about this couple's budget, but do not have a distinct impact on the vendor, or his basis for negotiation. In fact, these arguments point ever more precisely at their distance in *place* and economic status, in that they can afford not only to take a vacation in Marrakech, but also to buy a painting with the intention to reframe it later for nearly the same price. Eventually, this group did agree on a price, by choosing a smaller painting that reflected Latifa and Hicham's 'limited budget'. As in many instances of bargaining, a price is achieved that is the 'right' price for that vendor and client, whether or not it is the same as any other resident or diasporic Moroccan would pay.

*6.6.2. The 'Moroccan tourist' price: Combining **derija** and **place***

6.6.2.a. Interview extract: Tourist prices

Said, Paris, 9 Feb 2008, 1m		
1	S	bah si tu vas au souk par exemple/ si je vais au souk=bah pour achêter des petits:::/ des petits souvenirs, bah on t'applique le prix touriste enh. uh if you go to the souk for example/ if I go to the souk=uh to buy litt:::le/ little souvenirs, uh you get the tourist price so
2	LW	ammm
3	S	on te dit pas:::::ouais t'es pas-t'as pas le::- si ça coûte euh ça, si ça coûte deux dirham,(.4) [pour un marocain they don't say::::yeah you aren't-you don't have::- if this costs uh this, if this costs two dirham,(.4) [for a Moroccan
4	LW	[c'est le: pour le stylo? [it's the: for the pen?
5	S	pour le touriste(.7) français ou européen/ ça va être quatre dirham,(.3) pour le touriste, euh:: on va dire marocain, ça va être trois ou quatre dirham (.5) donc t'es plutôt coté touriste que coté marocain quoi for the tourist (.7) French or European/ it will be four dirham,(.3) for the tourist, uh:: let's say Moroccan, it will be three or four dirham (.5) so you are more counted as tourist than counted as Moroccan you know
6	LW	ouais yeah
7	S	tu vois, parce que tu vis là-bas you see, because you live over there

Said gave this response when I asked for an example of what makes him feel like a 'foreigner' in Morocco. He makes his thought process explicit: not receiving

the 'Moroccan' price places diasporic visitors in line with 'foreign' tourists – an association he hesitates to make, evidenced through the qualifying phrase he uses to disown the category 'Moroccan tourist' (turn 5). He furthermore connects this to where he lives – his connection to one *place* and not another – as the causal logic for price differences (turn 7).

Though Said hesitates to enunciate the category, 'Moroccan tourist' is an attractor in operation along these dimensions of *descent* and *place*. Hicham also referenced not being a tourist in the previous excerpt (6.6.1.c, turn 25) as part of his argument for getting a 'Moroccan' price. Yet becoming a 'Moroccan tourist' is an attractor towards which DVs are easily drawn, as they can maintain links of *descent* in interaction but struggle to be recognized as belonging in *place*.

To not be seen as a 'Moroccan tourist', that is, to *pass* during an interaction, would seem impossible. Given the way bodies play a part in these interactions, to the extent, outlined above, that resident Moroccans 'know' even before any intentional communication, *passing* would seem necessarily a project involving multiple aspects of embodiment, from dress to *hexis* to language. Yet language is still often blamed as the traitorous element that signals 'not-being-Moroccan' in these interactions. Immediately after having bought some decorative tassles for curtains, Wafae made this comment about her previous attempts to buy the same object in her ancestral hometown, Agadir, citing language use as her fault then:

6.6.2.b. Interview extract: He heard us speaking Dutch

Wafae, Marrakech, 7 August 2008, 35sec		
1	LW	you were saying tha- they have these at a::/ a souk in Inz- Inezgane?
2	W	*ja dis ook*- we went to eh:: (.) not in Inezgane but in el Had in Agadir in [itself and there was one who selled them also/ but he (.3) w:as very expensive but not very good quality.
		yes that too
3	LW	[oh.
4	LW	mm
5	W	and they said they deliver, (.) to (.) some[one in Inezgane,
6	LW	[yeah
7	LW	yeah/
8	W	I said I didn't s- see that one
9	LW	yeah.

		(7.4)
10	W	it's a good price because, (.4) there was one in Agadi:r, (.) but ya (.7) we asked them, and we were talking Dutch at the time/
11	LW	yeah
12	W	so <when> he heard us, he said um: well 25 eu- euros (.3) a pi[ece
13	LW	[for each/ oh.
14	W	for each, (.8) that was uh (.) not

Wafae makes a causal link (turn 10) between having spoken Dutch with her husband at the time of their previous shopping excursion and being given an extravagant price (twenty-five Euro each for curtain decorations) by that vendor. By making this linear association, she disallows that he might have recognized her 'Europeanness' through any other means than Dutch-language speech. Although she spoke fluent *derija* with the vendor throughout the successful negotiation I recorded with her in Marrakech, her 'being-European' was evident from her concurrent interactions with her husband and daughter, which took place in Dutch. In other words, she herself disproved her assumption in practice. The perspective she states, however, puts pressure on performing *derija* in interactions as the only way to establish one's *attachment* to *place*, by avoiding any verbal indication of being from somewhere else (even though it is evident already). While Wafae makes this causal attribution, like others do, in her own recorded example she managed to achieve her desired price despite betraying her 'Dutchness'.

Notably, Wafae quotes prices in this extract in Euro instead of dirham. As remarked in my previous research (Wagner 2006), translating currencies is a point of difficulty for DVs, who will often describe costs in Euro and are occasionally quoted prices by vendors in Euro. This practice joins into processes of becoming 'not-Moroccan' through the geographical associations of currencies. Thinking in Euro is a *place*-based habit of determining value, both as how much one can afford to spend from his or her European travel money, and as comparing costs for an object between Morocco and Europe. *Passing* as 'Moroccan' requires engaging with notions like these that are produced through language but not related to the dynamics of languages themselves. One can quote a price in Euro while speaking *derija* as easily as while speaking French.

In the next extended example, part of Yasmine's effort to *pass* involves insisting on her geographic origins as being in Morocco, using both linguistic and other communicative practices to maintain her stance.

6.6.2.c. Interaction extract: Yasmine, the *saharawiya*

Yasmine, Vendor; Marrakech, 6 June 2008, 2m		
1	V	*bonjour*
		hello
2	Y	salaam u aleikum
		peace unto you
3	V	salaam
		peace
(8.6)		
4	Y	šhal keydiru hadu?
		how much are these?
5	V	hadu dyel srəbat aḫti ((passing car))
		those are for napkins my sister
6	Y	yehh ʿarəft
		yeah I know
7	V	ašra dərhəm. ašra dərhəm allah yḫəllik
		ten dirham. ten dirham God make it easy on you
((music)) (11.2)		
8	V	ḫodi šri ši tənaš ow la -tana ndir lik temen məzyen=
		if you buy ten or so- I'll make you a good price
9	Y	=ehh
		=yeah
10	V	<maḫəṣək walu> ḥəna
		<you don't need anything> here
(3.5)		
11	Y	sətta
		six
12	V	sətta?
		six?
13	Y	mm
		mm ((affirmative))
14	V	nṣbər mʿak b ḫəmsin dərham
		I'll deal with you for fifty dirham
15	Y	eh?
		eh?
16	V	nṣbər mʿak b ḫəmsin
		I'll deal with you for fifty
17	Y	ahh bəzzef/
		ahh too much/
18	V	bəzzef?

		too much?
19	Y	myateyn ryal elwaḥad?
		two hundred ryal each?
20	V	eh myateyn ryal, aləf frank=
		yeah two hundred ryal, a thousand frank=
21	Y	=eh=
		=yeah=
22	V	=((laugh)) aləf frank
		=((laugh)) a thousand frank
23	Y	kanḥədr bil frank, bḥal elwalid w elwalida
		I talk with frank, like my father and mother
24	V	aləf frank ((laugh)) qazim[24] had elaləf frank () ašmin lown bġiti?
		a thousand frank ((laugh)) old that thousand frank () which color do you want
25	Y	emm nšuf () elḥamra zwin. ḥamra ow la elkeḥl nšuf
		emm I'm looking () the red is nice. red or the black let's see
26	V	li bġiti. hata hajja
		whatever you want. anything
27	Y	waz- ara nšuf. makeynaš keḥl ḥənaya?
		waz- let me look. there's no black here?
28	V	eh keyn elmaron
		there's brown
29	Y	ḥamar zwin yeki? ((7.2 looking at merchandise)) makeyḫəsruš
		red is nice yes((f))? (7.2) they don't come undone?
30	V	la mateyḫəsru::[š
		no they don't come undo::[ne
31	Y	[šaydin məzyen?
		[they are well tied?
32	V	ana naṭek ši hajja məzyena. mateḫafiš
		I'll give you something good. don't worry
33	Y	ntuma dima ʿandkum ši hajja məzyena ((joking))
		you((pl)) always have something good
34	V	la nstilək ši hajja məzyena
		no I'll select something good
(11.1)		
35	V	nti šamaliya?
		are you northern?
36	Y	la səḥarawiya
		no I'm saharan
37	V	səḥarawiya eh
		saharan eh
38	Y	jit=
		I came=

24. In line 24, the /qazim/ is an example of dialectal variation in Marrakech, where the **ḍ** (ض) is sometimes pronounced as /z/.

39	V	=Dakhla u la
		=Dakhla or
40	Y	la, jit eh Errachidia, Erfoud
		no, I came eh Errachidia, Erfoud
41	V	mərḥaba
		welcome
42	Y	allah ybarak fik
		God bless you
(3.8)		
43	V	nti tstiti li ʿajbuk
		you select what you like

At the outset of this interaction, the vendor quotes the price in dirham for the napkin holders about which Yasmine is asking. Her reply, to translate from dirham into *ryal* (turn 19), is the inverse of translating from dirham to Euro: she establishes a reference currency associated with 'traditional' Morocco, deep in *place* and her parental *descent* (turn 20), instead of one associated with 'modern' Morocco or Europe. He replies by confirming the price in *ryal*, and adding the price in *frank* with a laugh (turn 20-22). Effectively, she is switching between currencies, indexing geographic and economic dimensions like using *derija* indexes 'Moroccanness' as a way of marking herself as 'being-Moroccan'.

In previous research (Wagner 2006), I have noted how DVs tried (unsuccessfully) to use *ryal* instead of dirham as their currency of negotiation because they represent one of at least three different local, regional modes of speaking about price that are generally unknown to non-locals or 'tourists'. Ryal probably comes from Spanish *real*, and in most regions exchanges twenty to one dirham, except in the north where it is five to one. *Frank* is likely derived from French *franc*, and generally is quoted as one hundred *frank* to one dirham. Hence the vendor affirms her quote of two hundred *ryal* as equal to ten dirham or one thousand *frank*.

His subsequent laughter changes the tone of the interaction subtly. It reflects that her reframing of currency from dirham to *ryal* is unusual, and possibly significant. Yasmine was not trying to *pass* visibly that day – she would be recognizable to vendors as 'being-European' immediately from from her style of dress. This vendor could have no doubt that she would understand a price quoted

in dirham as opposed to the 'old' *ryal* or frank. In fact, vendors occasionally quote prices in dirham and Euro in the same turn, and sometimes undertake negotiation using the Euro quote. More rarely are DVs comfortable in using *ryal*, which involves a more complicated exchange calculation to their base currency (one Euro is approximately 200 *ryal*). Her choosing *ryal* as the currency mode would be unusual for a DV, following this logic; in fact later while bargaining with him she uses dirham. Perhaps this ambiguity prompted his laughter, and his next initiated turn.

After she poses a question about the workmanship (turns 29-31), there is a pause, at which point he initiates a sequence by asking if she comes from the north (turn 35). A question like this can sometimes reflect difference in accent and vernacular expression between regions, but I would argue in this case the vendor is trying to establish if she is resident Moroccan or not. 'From the North' spoken in Marrakech could mean almost anywhere in Morocco, but also can mean from even further north – across the Mediterranean to Europe. Her answer, that she is 'saharawiya', from Errachidia, paired with her visible embodimentality, would confirm that she is from the diaspora. The region she quoted, in the south of Morocco, deep in the eastern Sahara, is not generally a place from which well-dressed women travel to Marrakech along with Europeans (myself and another French friend were present at this interaction). By claiming a local, resident home that does not match her embodimentality, she inferentially confirmed that she is resident outside of Morocco. However, the vendor does not explicitly address her claims to geographic 'local Moroccanness' in the remainder of the interaction.

Neither does her 'Europeanness' enter explicitly into the remainder of the interaction. It does remain, however, underlying the entire process. As much as she might make claims to 'local Moroccanness', even her intended purchase is counterindicative of that. She is buying decorative napkin holders for a table setting – implying a table set with flatware and individual plates, unlike the 'local Moroccan' style of a single central serving dish. Like the previous examples, however, she does not use many local bargaining methods to achieve the price. Yasmine prides herself on being *qassḥa* – a hard bargainer. Eventually she gets the price she desires by describing how regularly she visits Marrakech and promising to

bring additional business to the vendor, in the form of her sister who will be arriving the next day. In the end, she achieves a 'localness' through her promise of repeat business (a promise I witnessed her keep with other Marrakchi vendors).

Yasmine manages to defend her own sense of place and achieve a practical attachment to *place* through this interaction. Her claims to be 'saharawia' are not questioned any further – unlike Hicham in the previous extended interaction, where the vendor questioned him specifically where he lives (6.6.1.c, turn 33). Her claim that she will return with her sister respond to the value of *place* for a vendor: even if she is not living in Morocco, he might anticipate more business by giving her a good price. *Place* then, in this example is something that can be negotiated through an attractor of 'Moroccan tourist'. While Yasmine may not be permanently resident in Morocco, she establishes her links to *place* enough to get the 'right' price.

6.6.3. Proxy bodies: Becoming embedded in place *by association*

Whether perceived along an axis of *place* or of *descent*, 'Moroccanness' in these interactions is something emergent through the body, as embodimentality. DVs know that they are recognizable as strange on sight, and feel themselves powerless to alter that recognition completely. Instead, on some occasions, they draw other bodies into their attempts to get the 'right' price, by enlisting a guide, usually a family member, as a proxy of 'Moroccan' embodimentality.

This strategy occurred in my previous research (Wagner 2006), but was repeated more often among participants in the present study. Even those who are more comfortable speaking *derija*, like Rabia, adopted it because this person could provide better information about the 'real' prices:

6.6.3.a. Interview extract: Someone who knows the price

Rabia, Marrakech, 13 June 2008, 45sec		
1	R	mais ils **changent** les prix quand ils voient des touristes et quand ils voient eh: une personne qui habite ici, (.) .h ils changent les prix donc toujours=mon=marie=me=dit euh (.4) tu veux achêter des choses euh/ qui coûtent chères, euh que t'as vraiment besoin, tu devrais t'habiller autrement, quoi. et montrer que t'es quelqu'un d'ici ou de là-bas,=je=dit=bah:: avec mon:: accent, ils me reconnaîtront, quoi.=

		but they **change** the prices when they see tourists and when they see a person who lives here, (.) .h they change the prices so my=husband=always=tells=me uh (.4) you want to buy things uh/ that cost a lot, uh that you really need, you should dress yourself differently, you=know. and show that you are someone from here or from over there,=I=say=bah:: with my:: accent, they will recognize me, you know.=
2	LW	mm
3	R	=que je suis pas: hhh je suis pas d'ici de toute façon,(.5) donc je me souviens avant quand voulais achêter des choses, eh(.3) euh:: mhhh j'allais avec quelqu'un d'ici (.6) <et qu' alors> comme ça::/ tu connaissais le prix, (1.0) xx on peux me faire carotte quoi=hhehe
		=that I'm not: hhh I'm not from here in any case, (.5) so I remember before when I wanted to buy things, eh (.3) uh:: mhhh I went with someone from here (.6) <and so> like that::/ you knew the price, (1.0) xx someone can rip me off you=know=hhehehe

As her narrative attests, Rabia groups strategies for *passing*, like dressing differently, with her practice of bringing someone along when she has purchases earmarked. She says her husband suggests dressing 'differently' when she wants to make a specific purchase, but she knows it will not work; she will be recognized by her accent (turn 1). Rabia remembers going with someone in the past, as a way to avoid being taken advantage of, by having someone with her who knows the right price. She attests to the practical relevance of this proxy person, who, being a resident Moroccan, will be privy to the local knowledge of value.

Wafae provides another perspective on this practice. She goes 'home' to Agadir, but does not speak Tashelḥit, the dominant Amazigh language there, as well as she might. In that sense, establishing 'being-Moroccan' on the market in Agadir is narrowed to 'being-shelḥa' as a more localized attractor. Rather than bargaining with her *derija*, she enlists a niece as her linguistic proxy:

6.6.3.b. Interview extract: I always take my niece

Wafae, Marrakech, 7 August 2008, 1m20		
1	LW	I remember, umm: (.6) I was in Agadir once/ and people said- if you- like/ in Agadir if you're speaking Arabic they give you a different price than if you speak
2	W	šəlḥa ((Tashelḥit))
3	LW	šəlḥa [khkhkh
4	W	[henhenhenhenheh [probably, (.) yeah probably, (.) yeah/ (2.3) that's why if I go shopping I always take my ah my niece with me.
5	LW	[but- (.) yeah ahhanh
6	LW	ah ok
7	W	because she speaks both languages/ she speaks also šəlḥa and also arabic.

8	LW	yeah
9	W	so if- because they eh:: wa- ya/ (.) we always say that they **smell** that we are not from here=
10	LW	yeah
11	W	=hnehneh they can sense it/=
12	LW	yeah
13	W	=so the price always triples

Wafae's comments bring using a proxy into the less explicit and less causal realm of embodimentality. She makes reference to her niece's linguistic ability as a reason to take her along (turn 7), but continues by discussing being 'smelled' and 'sensed' as out of place, which, she concludes, results in a higher price (turns 9-13). Bringing a proxy bargainer seems to create an aura of 'Moroccanness-in-*place*', putting a locally-marked body in a shared position with a body 'smelled' to be from outside in order to hide one's 'European' embodimentality to get the 'real' price.

Bringing a proxy does not mean that the DV remains mute and non-participating during bargaining. In the following extended interaction, Moustapha, the DV customer, had been the primary interlocutor with the vendor up to the start of negotiations. The excerpt begins after Moustapha has tried on the merchandise in question – a blue Sahara-style set of embroidered shirt and trousers – and he and his friend's cousin Simo, a locally resident proxy, are beginning to bargain the price.

6.6.3.c. Interaction extract: 'Do a good price with us'

Moustapha, Vendor, and Simo, Marrakech, 10 Aug 2008, 1m21s		
1	M	bšhal hadi?
		how much is this?
2	V	hadik aḫoya nsəbər mʿak, hhh ma ġadiš ngullik ši temen li huwa dyel smitu, ana rah bəḥəra fi rasək. rah ḥata təġədit ʿad ḥəllit elhanut.
		that one my brother I will deal with you hhh I'm not going to tell you some price of anyone, I'm going to do a price for you. I just ate lunch and reopened the shop.
3	M	iyeh
		yes
4	V	nšḥəsbha lik aḫoya mya u ḫəmsin dərhəm.
		I'll let it go to you for one hundred and fifty dirham.
5	M	mya u ḫəmsin dərhəm?
		one hundred and fifty dirham?
6	V	wullahila dirt mʿak le prix xx
		I swear to God I did the price xx for you

7	M	minəheytna bəzzef from our side it's too much
8	V	tbarakallah šuf la pièce gədda::š xx (.) adaba rah kanḥədər mʿak bḥal ši wəld elbled blessings of God look at the way it fits xx (.) now I'm going to talk to you like any son of the country
9	S	<tanbʿe xx šri had ši> <to buy xx sell these things>
10	V	ewa: so
11	M	ewa rah wəld el bled ana elḫawa məši šhi xx so being a son of the country I'm a brother not some xx
12	V	wa mərḥababik aḫoya mərḥababik and welcome to you my brother welcome to you (3.4)
13	S	dir mʿah ši temen zwin allah yḥəfdək asaḥabi do a good price with him God protect you my friend
14	V	wullaha ḫoya zin <billah> I swear my brother it's good <I swear>
15	S	ra mya u ḫemsin ra qaṣṣḥa bəzzef one hundred fifty it's really hard
16	V	ah? ah?
17	S	dir mʿana ši [temen zwin do a good price [with us
18	V	[wullahila dirt mʿah tem[en zwin [I swear to God I made him a goo[d price
19	S	[[ahh ahh rahh [[ahh ahh well
20	M	[[xx temen/ [[xx price/
21	V	gulliya mərḍi elwalidin ašnu had temen, ana- šti ila səwərt mʿak ġir ašra drihamat, rah dekši li bġit ḥət'ana. wa təqəḍi lġərəd nta, w tʿaud duz lʿandi tgul liya bonjour, mərḥababik! dinya hanya tell me bless your parents what's this price, I- look if I dealt with you just ten little dirham, then that's what I want too. and you could buy what you want you, and come back to my place to tell me hi, you are welcome, life is peaceful (5.2)
22	S	aṭek mya u ašrin dirham. (.) bla mataʿud ləlkəlima safi dirha fi mika w la [xx he gives you one hundred and twenty dirham. (.) without repeating words, that's enough put it in a bag and don't [xx
23	V	[waḫa arefti aš ġadiru? aṭeuni mya u tletin [w allah ysəhəl ʿalik [ok do you know what we will do? you (pl) give me one hundred thirty [and God make it easy for you

24	S	[la safi safi ari [xx
		[no enough enough give me
		[xx
25	V	[eh? *c'est pas*- mabaqeš ši fərk beynatnaš waḫa ʿad li baš nddi-=
		[huh? *it's not*- there's no more difference between us ok return to me so I can-=
26	A	=ḫaṣ nəmši nzid naqəṣṣ minha
		=must* I go still to shorten it
27	V	eh?
		yeah?
28	A	wa ḫəṣ* nəmši nzid naqəṣṣ minha.
		and must* I go still to shorten it
29	V	hadek hadek tḥ- sti hadek tənaqeṣ, w kunkan hdaya ši ḫeyat ḥəna, mangullikš ana hadek elḥadara. ta:tələbsha w təqeṣha w ngullik hada w naṭeli yduzha () laḥaqaš hadek eh hadek hadek eh naqeṣ li bġit naqeṣ, *dix dirham* dyelha, faytaha bḥal lla ḫəlləsti elḫeyat ləduble
		that that tḥ- you see that to shorten, were there a tailor just here, I wouldn't say these words. you: put it on and shorten it and I tell you what and I would take it to her (.) ((tailor)) because that eh that that shortening that you what, *ten dirham* of it, more than that would be like you paid the tailor two times as much
30	S	ewa ḫəllina hadek- ḫəllina hadek *dix dirham* li ġadi ndiru biha
		so leave us this- leave us *ten dirham* so we will do that with it
31	V	allah ysḫər makeynš lmuškil mərḥababik aḫoya. en plaisir* ḫoya xx təḫna, mabġinaš yəsʿib allah yjib ġisehəla
		God help you there's no problem, you are welcome my brother. in pleasure* my brother xx us too, we don't want to make it hard, God brings ease

The negotiation starts off in a somewhat unusual way, in comparison to other bargaining sequences analyzed here: the vendor does not directly answer Moustapha's question about the price, but instead prepares him for what is to be a special price, just for him. Moustapha challenges the price in the subsequent turns, despite the vendor's claim that he is addressing him 'like any son of the country' (*wəld elbled*). In turn 11, Moustapha seems to confirm the vendor's affirmation of his 'being-Moroccan', although the negative comparison he makes is inaudible. Moustapha's 'Moroccanness-by-*descent*' entered the negotiation thus quite early, and in a way that makes it clear he is recognized as 'not-Moroccan-in-*place*'. The vendor makes his 'Moroccanness' relevant, and specifically linked to *descent*, by naming him as a *wəld elbled*. This comment would not make sense if Moustapha was a resident Moroccan; it would not need to be made explicit.

Shortly thereafter, Simo takes the next alternating turns with the vendor as the primary negotiator, until turn 26 when Moustapha interjects briefly (and slightly

ungrammatically). The style of bargaining between the vendor and Simo is typical of how the genre is performed in Morocco. They use relationship tags that are complimentary, like addressing one another as 'friend' or 'brother'; neither says a price without embedding it in a proposition that builds on their buyer-seller relationship; most importantly, the vendor uses religious oaths (underlined) both to swear to his price and to assuage the relationship with the buyer. These phrases, which are frequently used in conversation in Morocco, can have particular contextual significance, such as giving thanks or offering condolences, but are generally ways that speakers can express belonging in a religious sense that is sympathetic to the addressee (Kapchan 1996). This vendor uses them to swear to the correctness of his price (turn 18) and to bargain a new lower price (turn 23).

Moustapha's communicative contribution to this portion of the conversation is relatively small. His interjection at turn 26 is clearly an interruption, marked both in that he cuts the vendor mid-word, not a transition-relevant place, and that the vendor prompts him to repeat in the next turn. His statement, that he will still need to have the garment shortened in order to wear it, reflects a strategy DVs often use to negotiate. Moustapha impugns the value of the item under discussion by framing it as faulty, implying that it is worth less to him because he will need to adjust it. This strategy is parallel to Hicham's argument that he would need to have the painting reframed in France; it reflects the DV customer's practical concerns rather than the value of the object to be purchased or not. This line of argumentation creates a logical link between a defective or lower quality object and a discount, but in the logic of fluctuating prices those objects are not universally 'broken'. Moustapha must shorten the trousers because he is shorter than they are; for the vendor, another person might come along who does not need to shorten them, who would pay a higher price. The 'defect' is an emergent one instead of perpetual one, and arguing for reductions along these lines does not usually work. Yet, the sense of an object's value as perpetual instead of emergent – as what it is worth for any customer instead of what it is worth in this particular interaction – is integral to the common conceptualization and desire for a 'real' price.

Whereas for a locally resident speaker, negotiation is an exercise in a verbal genre, DVs generally are not attuned to these forms, particularly to the use of religious oaths, as a process of developing harmony between interlocutors. Instead,

their attempts to create links by establishing themselves as being-Moroccan rebound in uncertain ways. While Moustapha may have felt himself immediately recognized as 'Moroccan', it is clear that he was not seen as 'Moroccan-in-*place*'. Luckily for him, Simo joined his effort as a proxy, engaging the vendor in practices specific to bargaining. He pursues the negotiation of a lower price in a way that does not create friction about a 'real' or 'tourist' price, or diminish the value of the object by citing its defects. For Moustapha's purposes, he might consider himself to have successfully passed by proxy, in that he can consider himself recognized as 'Moroccan' as they, collectively, eventually achieve a reasonable price for his purchase. But simply the fact that his status as 'son of the country' comes up in conversation points to his strangeness – that his embodiment as such would need to be identified and assured when it is otherwise understood as normal.

6.6.4. The value of embodimentality on the market

What becomes evident in these analyses are the mechanisms by which these various strategies for becoming embodied as 'Moroccan' are situationally relevant and effective. These interactions are rarely explicitly about 'being-Moroccan', but almost always implicitly so. As they are pulled apart, the radiating aspects of 'Moroccanness' as a multidimensional attractor become evident as relevant to the way these interactions play out. Whereas DVs often treat their sense of rejection as total, in fact these vendors often accept their 'Moroccanness' in terms of *descent*; they do not often accept them, however, as 'Moroccan-in-*place*', leading to this series of strategies for trying to *pass*. In previous work, I made arguments about how these processes occurred linguistically; here I want to emphasize how they are more than linguistic, through embodimentality. Being able to speak *derija* seems relatively unimportant, despite the fact that it is so often cited by DVs as their traitorous fault. In fact, what is relevant in bargaining are the material and expressive consequences of being 'Moroccan-out-of-*place*' in assemblage: including not speaking *derija* with a local accent, inhabiting one's *hexis* in a 'strange' way, and participating in alternate systems of assigning value, all while inhabiting what is an apparently 'Moroccan' body, by *descent*.

These three longer extracts of 'Moroccanness' negotiated through bargaining represent only a portion of the recorded interactions in my corpus. Hicham,

Yasmine, and Moustapha provided particularly clear and different examples of styles and strategies used by DVs to *pass* in vendor-client interactions. That said, there are many such interactions where 'Moroccanness' as a geographic or sociocultural dimension is not made relevant. Hicham, for example, used this explicit argument about 'Moroccanness' repeatedly in different vendor interactions, while neither Wafae nor the vendor she spoke with made explicit or implicit references to her 'Moroccanness' in my recording of her bargaining. Despite speaking Dutch on that occasion, she seems to have passed more successfully than Yasmine, as her provenance was never brought into the conversation.

'Moroccanness' emerged along similar lines but other ways. For example, Yasmine's friend Saliha found herself being frequently called *algérienne*[25] on the street, and engaged in an extended friendly banter with one vendor who called her that about her status as *bint elbled*, or a 'daughter of the country'. Unlike Hicham, where the tone of the conversation bordered on confrontational, Saliha's assertion of being a *bint elbled* with that vendor evoked questions about each other's hometown in Morocco. Each interaction develops along different lines, with establishing 'Moroccanness' through *descent* and *place* as potentially affiliative or disaffiliative, contentious or familiarizing, in ways that are closely bound with the other dimensions of the emerging relationship between interlocutors. These few collected excerpts demonstrate the variety of ways *passing* in the market becomes a familiar form: not necessarily *passing* 'effectively' by simply speaking *derija*, but strategically managing attractors of 'being-Moroccan' and 'being-European' to attempt to become 'Moroccan' at moments and in dimensions where it is practically, interactionally, and relationally workable.

6.7. *Passing* apparently: Embodiment of 'Moroccanness' through silence

Visible and audible attempts at *passing* are easily anticipated aspects of a post-migrant generation experience, particularly in light of how closely *descent* and *place* can become intertwined with ideas about bodies, embodiment, and communicative and consumption practices. Using silence to *pass* is one unanticipated practice that emerged in moments during fieldwork where silences

25. Algerian woman

became palpable and relevant turns of interaction. Silence, and other nonverbal forms of communication, relate to how some DVs' communicative practices do not adhere to the dominant form of 'Moroccanness' along dimensions of what languages they can access. In other words, silence emerged, in the few cases where it did, as a strategy for DVs who were either not French speakers, not *derija* speakers, or neither, and therefore displaced from the dominant sociolinguistic model of a 'European-Moroccan'.

Nakane (2007) reviews types of silences that occur in various interactional contexts, construing the relevance of moments of silence through both speech community patterns and social psychological motivations. Instances of silence I discuss here are what she defines as 'turn-constituting silences with illocutionary force' (2007, 7), or in other words, silence occurring at turn-relevant positions that is taken up by other speakers as a turn. Thus, through speaker responses, the relevance of these silences often related to the DV's ability to be recognized as 'Moroccan' through linguistic practice.

The examples of silence in my data were most often connected to difficulties with speaking *derija* for DVs of Amazigh origin. When not in their familial home towns, where their Moroccan languages are more widely spoken, Amazigh-origin DVs must negotiate an even wider distance between their linguistic abilities and the shape of the attractor 'Moroccanness' than an Arabic-origin DV, whose *derija* might be accented but fluent. Given the premium put on being able to speak *derija* as an essential element of *passing* in other contexts outlined above, not speaking *derija* well or not at all is a significant hurdle for those who try to inhabit 'being-Moroccan' outside of Amazigh-dialect dominant areas. Trying to communicate without a common code becomes part of the process of trying to *pass* through embodimentality: even though they are clearly at a disadvantage, these DVs still find themselves in situations where they need to 'be Moroccan', and must use other embodied communication to reinforce their linguistic absence.

In this example from my fieldnotes, I observed how this kind of embodied action was happening amongst different DVs one night at a salon:

6.7.a. Fieldnote extract: Marrakech salon, 7 august 2008

> straight to beauty salon (de Paris) and brushing/epilation. There's a bit of a wait, and Sanae goes out to look for water while I watch the NL bride.

she looks like a chinese doll, which is what threw me in the 1st place, with lots of eye makeup, scarlet red lips and rhinestones glued around her eye. She seems unhappy, which I guess is normal for a bride, and has 2 friends (cousins?) with her helping and also waiting to be done. One speaks arabic, but maybe stumbles over words for 'curls' and 'volume'. I wasn't sure they were Dutch, hearing only hints like mooi and ook, but then i heard a few full sentences and it was done.
one in short djellaba (also unexpected) and one other with a beautiful face at the ready. Mother in an aqua blue djellaba with sparkly gold bead trim, speaking in arabic/nl to the daughter-bride, who still looks unhappy (some dispute with stylist?)
shortly after they call S for shampoo, I am gone for my epilation. when i come back, bride's hair is still in the works but the pretty friend is finished with lots of big soft curls, and my epilateuse starts working on the other's nails. she got her bangs either cut or blown out.
the hair is truly incredible, involving lots of really long strands separated, flattened, wound up - it's a magic cage on her head.
Pretty friend asked djellaba friend to approach when it was her turn to be brushed - to translate her desires to stylist.
Sanae also has moments of not-understanding: I think she does a lot of pretending to understand arabic - has asked me about 'baqae' and it's varying significances a couple of times.
the stylist remarks something like keyn Sod (it's hot), and she gets that look of non-understanding until it's repeated in French.
when I come down, Sanae's hair looks almost as complicated as the bridefriend's - lots of pins and curls. She tells me later the stylist insisted on doing curly, straight is no good. she characterizes this as a moroccan sensibility, telling me alternately that she looks like a poodle or Suellen from Dynasty.

This episode one evening at a beauty salon in Marrakech evokes two sides of the difficulties that DVs have in expressing themselves in *derija*. The first is of the bride and her two friends that I overheard and observed interacting with the stylist, trying to express what they wanted done for their hairstyles. The second is Sanae's acknowledged inability, as a Belgian French-speaker from a Rifi family, to understand or speak much *derija*.

The three women, from what I observed, were using various practices, like translation and gesture, to communicate what they were having difficulty saying verbally in *derija* (as I interpreted in my fieldnotes). Instead of remaining silent, they used other resources, including proxies, like friends and possibly resident Moroccans in their group, and embodied conversational space of gesture to achieve their communicative goals. Importantly, they did not have the resource (as evidenced by their observed practices) of a alternate common language – i.e. French. As Dutch speakers, they cannot expect that resident Moroccans might

understand their European language, and have therefore the burden of finding translators or other ways to communicate.

Sanae, on the other hand was using a strategy of silence she used elsewhere to a similar purpose. As a member of a Tarifit-speaking family, she never learned *derija* at home and had this summer taken a course in standard Arabic to add to her communicative skills. She had progressed by this time to the point where she could hold short, introductory conversations in *derija*, but was still learning and her vocabulary and comprehension skills had gaps. In this situation, Sanae was unable to recognize a relatively simple sentence – *keyn ṣod*, literally 'there is heat', a phrase used to describe intensely hot weather – and her silence in a turn-relevant place prompted the stylist to repeat herself in French. This reply demonstrates how she failed to pick up the conversational cue (to complete the adjacency pair) of a fairly basic utterance, which impacted on whatever attempt she may have been making to be seen as a '*derija*-speaker' in that interaction.

Taking courses in standard Arabic or in *derija* is not uncommon for non-*derija*-speaking DVs who want to be able to communicate in the language they are expected, as diasporic Moroccans, to speak. Their efforts to *pass* as speakers of *derija* are often more strenuous and categorically more unsuccessful through the unavoidable fact that they have not practiced the language since childhood. Not all Amazigh families choose to communicate exclusively in their home dialect – some Amazigh parents purposefully speak *derija* to their children so that they will learn that comparatively dominant language – but the majority do not. In certain cities that are predominantly Amazighophone, like Agadir or Al Hoceima, DVs can rely on their familial language without being forced to learn *derija* to speak with the general public. When traveling to other parts of Morocco, however, their lack of *derija* skills or practices becomes more noticeable.

In the time I spent with Sanae in Marrakech, she was trying to hone her *derija* skills in various interactions, like this one with the hairstylist. Through the way she negotiated the moment mentioned above, in which the stylist talks about the weather and Sanae remains mute, she avoided being the conversant to choose another language (usually French) as the code of communication. Indeed, later in that conversation (from what I witnessed) the stylist continued to use some *derija*

phrases, although Sanae most often answered in French. Silence becomes a way for her to maintain the potential that she is a native speaker, by not forcing a change of code and therefore revealing that she cannot speak *derija* very well. She is not the only participant who used this method to maintain an image of 'being-Moroccan':

6.7.b. Interaction extract: They think I understand

Mounir, Fes, 28 July 2008, 40sec		
1	LW	tu parles l'arabe pas du tout* ou eh: you speak arabic not at all or eh:
2	M	non eh (.) le berbère je le parle, mais l'arabe je parle pas. non eh (.) I speak berber, but I don't speak Arabic
3	LW	ah ouais. oh yeah
4	M	<ça y> <that's it>
5	LW	tu trouves- (.4) est-ce- t'as- jamais eu des problème:s, sur ça, de: you find- (.4) is it- you have- ever had problem:s, on that, of:
6	M	bah des problèmes non, mais quand on me parle je comprends pas uh problems no, but when people talk to me I don't understand
7	LW	ouais. (.) henhenhenhenh yeah (.) henhenhenhenh
8	M	s-hheh
9	LW	normalement que oui! ehenhenh usually yeah! ehenhenh
10	M	et je fait quand mê- les gens, ils croient que je comprenne/ and anyway I make- people, they believe that I understand/
11	LW	ouais yeah
12	M	et je leur dit ouais/ ouais/ ouais. ouais ouais. bah je comprends deux trois mots, mais je comprends pas ce que veut dire eh ce que veut dire les phrases and I tell them yeah/ yeah/ yeah. yeah yeah. uh I understand a few words, but I don't understand what sentences eh what sentences mean

Mounir expressed his solution to this problem quite straightforwardly. By pretending to understand, he can continue to be recognized as 'being-Moroccan' to whatever extent a given interaction allows; to *pass* by not admitting his 'inauthentic' lack of linguistic skills.

Hind, a twenty-seven year old Tarifit speaker, gives another example of a strategy for ameliorating language skills. In the course of negotiating for a bag,

Hind's verbal participation had been limited to discussing with her husband while he negotiated the price in *derija*. She had been demonstrating her conversational participation by interjecting, asking for translations, and trying to speak *derija*. Shortly thereafter, on the street nearby, she initiated the following sequence with her young daughter:

6.7.c. Interaction extract: So you can speak for your self

Hind, Marrakech, 24 July 2008, 1m		
1	H	kijk <daughter> daarom is het be**lang**rijk dat jij arabisch le:ert (.) want dan ken jij zelf **praten**. (.)
		look <name> that's why it's im**por**tant that you learn arabic (.) so then you can speak for your **self** (.)
2	D	((reply inaudible))
3	H	ja?
		ya?
4	D	((reply inaudible))
5	H	wil je handje?
		do you want a hand?
(4.8)		
6	H	en als we jou nou kwijt raken/ als je goed je best doet, (1.1) bij Arabische school,
		and if we lose you now/ will you do your best (1.1) in Arabic school,
7	D	ik heb een **negen** ge**kreg**en en Mo heeft een acht gekregen
		I **got** a **nine** and Mo got an **eight**

Hind seems to be advocating for her daughter to surpass her own abilities in speaking Arabic. From this comment it seems fair to imagine that Hind was dissatisfied with her inability to participate more fully, to 'speak for [her] self.' In her case, she could compensate because her husband, although also from the Rif and a Tarifit speaker, was able to communicate for her. Yet this strategy did not allow her to *pass* effectively and independently, to 'be Moroccan' on her own, which seems to have instigated her encouragement of her daughter.

In reality, it is unlikely that Hind's daughter will ever progress to a level of *derija* sufficient to *pass*, especially since she doesn't receive reinforcement in those practices in her home. Even DVs who are fluid speakers, as seen above, are not *passing* on the basis of their language skills, but through more complex forms of embodimentality. Hind's comment points again to the primacy of language as imagined to be central to 'being-Moroccan', as an essential way of speaking for oneself in Moroccan contexts.

The preceding examples point to cases where muteness is forced by circumstances, and often compensated for by using other communicative resources like gesture and available translators. Sometimes, as in Mounir's case, muteness is incorporated into embodimentality, as a means to maintain the fiction of comprehension. The ambiguous role of silence and non-verbal responses help Sanae, in this encounter, to *pass* herself as a 'Moroccan' *derija* speaker in this interaction.

6.7.d. Interaction extract: Active silences

Sanae and Vendor; Marrakech, 8 Aug 2008, 3m45s		
1	S	*je crois=qu'il est là-bas* *I think he's over there*
2	V	haki. lalla mabġituš? (.6) xx ((mic noise)) (1.8) ha elfənn ki dayr/ here. the lady doesn't want them? (.6) xx ((mic noise)) (1.8) look at this beauty/
(1.8)		
3	S	šhal?* how many? *((/ḥ/ not pronounced; should be bšḥal – how much))
(.7)		
4	V	hadek səbʿen dərhəm that one is seventy dirham
5	S	səbʿen? seventy?
(2.0)		
6	V	hadi, hiya sətin dərhəm. this one, she is sixty dirham.
(6.2)		
7	V	ha oḫra ha hiya, hadi ḫəmsin dərhəm here's another one here she is, this one is fifty dirham
(2.1)		
8	S	ʿalaš sətin ow ḫəmsin? why sixty or fifty?
9	V	hadi wudni oḫra, (1.0) wudni oḫra, (3.0) wud[ni oḫra/ this has different handles, (1.0) different handles, (3.0) diff[erent handles/
10	S	[mmm
(3.1)		
11	V	ha laḫra ha hiya. (.5) ḫəmsin dərhəm. this other one here she is. (.5) fifty dirham.
(2.6)		
12	V	ḫodi ḫod xx (.7) kibira hadi, take take xx (.7) this one is big

13	S	à tous le tenir
		to hold everything
(3.2)		
((passerby speaks to vendor, two turns excised))		
(3.0)		
14	V	hadik məḫeyra hadik/ wullah elʿadim,
		this one is the best this one/ I swear to God,
(.8)		
15	S	<c'est> ton sac que t'as achete qui a changé de couleur
		<it's> your bag you bought that changed color?
16	LW	eh::: xx
(1.6)		
17	V	šufi elḫedma fiha ki dayra
		look at the style of work in this
18	LW	walakin xx[xx
		but xx [xx ((inaudible comment on color coming off))
19	S	[ah oui=
		[ah *yes*=
20	V	=la la la/ (.4) non. (1.7) la walu
		=no no no, (.4) no (1.7) no nothing
21	S	walu:/
		nothing:/
22	V	wa-
		noth-
(3.5) ((sound of hands rubbing - V demonstrates that color does not come off))		
23	V	walu.
		nothing.
(6.6)		
24	V	bġiti hadi ow bġiti hadi?
		do you want this one or do you want this one?
(3.1)		
25	V	raḥ gaʿ bḥal bḥal/ kamlin/
		they're really the same/ all of them/
26	S	bḥal bḥal
		the same
(3.8)		
27	V	ila sʿaftini (take my advice) ddi hadi. ila ʿandik elbaggage bəzzef
		if you want my advice, take this one. if you have a lot of baggage
(16.5)		
28	V	ha nti/ šufi bʿada lwudnin ki dayrin. (.5) šuftihum? (1.0) qəllbi filwudnin raḥ bḥal bḥal ʿandi ana sslʿa. (.5) lwudnin kulshi məzyenin.

		here you/ look first at how the handles are. (.5) did you see them? (1.0) search through the handles they're all the same merchandise. (.5) the handles are all good.
(3.6)		
29	V	ra elkwir hada
		they're leather that
30	S	mmmhmmm.
(9.5)		
31	V	ari ari- (.) ari nwərrik/ agi, (1.0) ašufi ana nḥəzhum l[ik tšufi fihum hheheheh
		give give- (.) give I'll show you/ come, (1.0) look I'll carry them for y[ou, look at them hheheheh
32	S	[a lem- (1.6) mənʿa:ref
		[a noi- (1.6) I don't know
33	V	ewa safi
		well good enough
(6.4)		
34	LW	*c'est ici le couleur que:* xxx ((motorcycle))
		it's here the color that: xxx
(.6)		
35	S	*de ça, tu preferes lequel*?
		of that, which one do you like?
(2.4)		
36	LW	*ça depend eh: à quoi tu veux pour eh:,(1.3) à quel but*
		that depends eh:(.5) what you want it to eh:, (1.3) for what purpose
(.8)		
37	S	*pour tout*
		for everything
(.9)		
38	LW	*non mais pour-* (.) *pour faire les achats, ou*
		no but for- (.) *for doing the shopping, or*
39	S	*ouais les achats, la plage*
		yeah the shopping, the beach
(.8)		
40	V	ah *la plage. la plage* lil hammam kulši
		ah the beach. the beach to the hammam everything
41	S	lil hammam? [((smile voice)) *ouais* (.) *pourquoi celui là le couleur va partir*
		to the hammam? [((smile voice)) *yeah* (.) *why that one the color will leave*
42	LW	[ahhehehe
43	LW	*moi j'en ai ach*[*eté pour faire comme eh:: j'ai pas comment on dit xx de, lessive*
		me I bough[*t one for doing like eh:: I don't know how you say it xx, washing*
44	V	[hadi dyəl ləqədya
		[this one is for shopping

45	S	mmmm
46	LW	*moi c'e- xxxx les:: xxx les- les* *me it- xxxx the:: xxx the- the*
47	S	*les poignets*, *the handles*
48	LW	*les poignets/* (3.4) *la taille* *the handles/* (3.4) *the size*
(3.6)		
49	S	((blowing lips)) *j'ai pas*. (3.0) ẖəmsin dərhəm waẖa? *I don't know*. (3.0) fifty dirham ok?
50	V	bḥal ẖəmsin, bḥal sətin. fifty is the same as sixty
51	S	ahh kif kif ehheheheh ahh they're the same ehheheheh
52	V	gaʿ ġadi nəqəṣṣ ana mya u hei- tzidi nti mya. (1.8) d'accord? ok I will come down a hundred and you will come up a hundred. (1.8) ok?
(4.4)		
53	V	wullahillah tanbʿeuha b səbʿen dərhəm wullah I swear to God she sells for seventy dirham I swear
(1.5)		
54	S	la. no.
55	V	yella ẖodi alright take
(.8)		
56	S	ẖemsin? fifty?
57	V	ẖodiha (3.4) ehhh ((sigh)) take her (3.4) ehhh

In this bargaining sequence, an initial price inquiry is followed by examination of merchandise, in this case flexible woven baskets, and a discussion on quality differences. Unlike other similar sequences, this one has numerous long silences (more than 2.0 seconds).

Conversationally, silences can perform a number of functions, implicated in culturally-specific communicative practices, religious practices, power relationships, saving face, or expressing affirmative or negative reactions (Nakane 2007; Tannen and Saville-Troike 1985; Jaworski 1993). Some of the silences here may be attributable to relevant non-verbal activity, like looking at the merchandise to judge quality and aesthetics. Otherwise, the most applicable to this context are

the latter two: face-saving (Jaworski and Stephens 1998) and second pair part 'relevant absences' (Schegloff 2007, 20) that are taken up as a response.

Demonstrating the uptake of relevant absences is relatively straightforward, but demonstrating how Sanae is saving face, or 'being-Moroccan' through silence is more complicated. Although we know that she has low proficiencies in *derija*, the vendor does not necessarily know that. Sanae had tried bargaining in *derija* on a few occasions in Marrakech. In all other examples, she would initiate in *derija* but quickly French would become the primary language for both her and the vendor, with vendors occasionally continuing to address her in *derija*. This reflects common patterns of communicative accommodation to non-native speakers (Zuengler 1991; Lawson-Sako and Sachdev 1996). Yet in this interaction, the vendor did not make a definitive switch to French, despite Sanae's clear indications of struggle with *derija*.

In the course of this interaction, Sanae provides remarkably little input in *derija*, using single word sentences or cognates between Tarifit and *derija* when addressing the vendor, and making more complex remarks about the object (a painted basket) with French, directed at me. From turns 2 to 33, principally in *derija*, the vendor makes nearly two turns for Sanae's one, and his turns are consistently followed by significant pauses of around 2.5 to 3.5 seconds – much longer than posited conversational maximum of one second (Jefferson 1989). Many of these silences become attributable to Sanae, because they occupy turn relevant positions where she does not complete second pair parts by backchannelling, requesting more information, or making a counteroffer as seen in previous sequences of bargaining. Her most bargaining-relevant move is a silence: a 4.4 second silence is attributable to Sanae as a strong refusal to the vendor's negotiated price offer (turn 52), because he counters by presenting it as a bargain (turn 53). Only sequences where she and I speak French (turns 15-16 and 34-49) approach a normal conversational rhythm, with the majority of pauses shorter than one second and the pair parts completed.

All of these signs could have been taken up as indicators that she is not a speaker of *derija*, but the vendor continues to address her primarily in *derija*. He only makes three brief codeswitches (turns 20, 40 and 52), showing that he can speak and understand limited French. In one of these codeswitches, he interjects

into our conversation about the purpose she imagines the basket would serve (turns 34-49) by suggesting 'the beach' in French as a purpose, and then 'the hammam' in *derija* (turn 40). Sanae takes up his suggestion by repeating 'the hammam' and smiling, then continuing to address me in French (turn 41). My overlapping laughter (turn 42) reflects how this comment was taken up as a joke – making a distance between Sanae as a French DV (who goes to the beach) and a resident Moroccan woman who would go to the hammam to bathe. Yet this switch was a token instance. In his next turns, he continues to address her primarily in *derija* (turns 50-57), only switching once as a question tag on his negotiated price offer (turn 52). In other words, Sanae accomplishes 'being-Moroccan' to the extent that the vendor consistently does not take up her weak *derija* and long pauses to reply to her in French.

By not directing her talk to the vendor in French, Sanae produces, as Mounir discussed earlier (6.7.b), a passive 'Moroccanness' in this interaction by not overtly confirming her lack of comprehension in *derija*. The silences that extend the duration of this interaction are significant because they are absorbed. For whatever reason, they do not become a source of 'trouble' instigating accommodation or categorization of Sanae as a non-native speaker as she had experienced in other interactions. The fact that the vendor does not switch to French – or reply to her weak *derija* in French, as described by others in section – may be indicative of his own linguistic preferences and practices in French. However, he was selling in a square near the main entrance to the Marrakech souk, an area with a high volume of tourists where any vendor would need some adequate language skills in French to survive. Although neither party makes it explicit, the vendor's maintenance of address towards Sanae in *derija* distinguishes her from other, French-only customers who pass through this square as 'someone presumed to understand *derija*'. Her short and sometimes broken replies, and her silences in moments where it was her turn to respond maintains the potential that she fulfills that category, and can *pass* as 'Moroccan' because she 'speaks' *derija*.

6.8. Lamia: Not trying to *pass*

Nothing demonstrates the rule like the exception. Many DVs observed and recorded for this research used multiple resources, like style of clothing or communicative practice, to try to *pass* despite being aware of the futility of the effort. For only one participant did *passing* seem to be unimportant in the way she embodied her interactions during visits to Morocco.

Lamia A is unique among the participants for a number of reasons. Firstly, she is married to a '*français de souche*' man – French at the root, or not of migrant origin. This choice caused a deep rift with her parents and some of her siblings. Lamia and Michel have been married a number of years, and have one daughter who was six at the time of fieldwork. They only have limited contact with some of her family, despite living around the same city in France. Other participants recounted stories about mixed origin Moroccan and European couples, which usually result in similar distancing from parents, depending on their opinions about religious conservatism, and often in a reduced likelihood to visit Morocco. Visiting 'home' is portrayed as an arduous task for the non-linguistically competent spouse, who may feel isolated among resident Moroccan family, in addition to the fact that the non-Moroccan origin spouse will often have immediate relatives that live closer to their normal residence than the Moroccan family. Lamia and her husband Michel, however, visited Morocco as much or more than any of her siblings, nearly all of whom were married to individuals of Moroccan or North African origin.

I first met Lamia, Michel and their young daughter at a hotel near Lamia's hometown in the south of Morocco, where we all were staying over a week in the summer of 2007. I was intrigued by this family because I saw them continuously over a few days, in contrast to the brief normal occupancy at this hotel, which serves more as a gateway for desert excursions than as a resort. I approached Lamia for an interview, then subsequently joined the family as they visited with her extended family in town during the days. I realized later the significance that their trip was timed separately from her parents' occupancy of their (empty) house in town: she found her extended, resident Moroccan family to be accepting of her marriage, while her father was not.

Even though their days were spent visiting family homes, they chose not to stay with family. Lamia later explained to me that the choice was mostly about comfort: the hotel where they stayed, which was on the expensive end of available hotels with a large pool and air conditioning, was 'comfortable'. Her daughter enjoyed swimming in the pool every day, and having a separate resting place enabled an escape from family when they wanted it. In that sense, though their visit to this town was clearly motivated by visiting family, it was still managed through a 'being-European' embodimentality, requiring measures of privacy and autonomy that were not possible for her in a Moroccan house.

Their frequency of return was particularly noticeable in relation to other family members. Lamia stated in her interview that she saw these visits as important for her daughter to know her home and origins. She acknowledged that she visits more than her siblings, dependent on means and opportunity; Lamia and Michel both have professional jobs, and only one child together, which permitted them to take more international vacations than the majority of her married siblings in France. Their households varied between one and two incomes, with between one and four children. Most of all, Lamia's husband Michel had a uniquely positive attitude towards her family and her origins. He expressed a shared interest in Moroccan culture and pleasure in visiting, both at the family home and elsewhere. In fact, after that first visit to her hometown, the four subsequent visits Lamia and Michel made to Morocco in the two subsequent years were to Marrakech, without any travel to her hometown.

They visit the same hotel in Marrakech so often that they have acquired a 'regular' status. But clearly, Lamia's reputation there is not dependent on being recognized as Moroccan.

6.8.a. Fieldnote extract: Brazilian, 2 June 2008

> first day I find Lamia and Michel,
> at the pool in the Framissima hotel, sunbathing and eating at the hotel café with [daughter]. they leave for 2~ hrs to the medina with us, go to the leather store that she and Yasmine visit all the time and buy a bag. then we all have a juice/ soda on the terrasse at Café des epices, and they leave for the hotel animation shortly thereafter.
> i record Lamia going thru the medina... not much interaction but potentially something interesting between her and vendors. At the leather shop, it occurs to me that Yasmine may 'choose' to speak arabic more than Lamia - she seems to respond to more people that way than Lamia does.

> Lamia tells me a story by the hotel pool, wherein one of the people at the hotel who she had come to know, after they had been there at least 5 times, told a joke in arabic and she laughed. He said, you speak arabic, and she said of course i'm moroccan, and he was surprised, as he had thought she was brazilian.
> In the souk again in the afternoon we hear someone calling out brasilienne? to them (?) whereas others recognize and address them in french or arabic.

Lamia's negotiation of 'being-Moroccan', on that day and others, seemed to not be an active part of her visit. As I mention in the fieldnote, her sister Yasmine A seems to make more concentrated effort to speak *derija*, to make certain her recognition as 'Moroccan'. In the last part of this fieldnote, she described her surprise that the hotel staff did not recognize her as 'Moroccan'. In her story, the joke-tellers, who were familiar with her from a number of visits and days spent by the pool, were not aware that she spoke and understood *derija*, implying that she had never chosen to speak it with them and assert her 'Moroccanness'. By not speaking, not even attempting to *pass* with them, she had been categorized as 'Brazilian', incorporating her brown skin and 'European' *hexis* with her apparent lack of 'Moroccanness'.

Lamia and Michel often time their visits to coincide with her sister Yasmine, who travels to Marrakech as frequently as they do. Seeing the two sisters together provided an interesting contrast in terms of how 'being-Moroccan' can be negotiated. Yasmine knew she was recognized from the way she was dressed (interaction, 15 March 2008) but still used some of the strategies discussed here to *pass*, particularly in her communicative practices, as demonstrated in her bargaining extract above (6.6.2.c). She once observed that her (older) sister would speak *derija* if necessary, as she did in their hometown, but not if she didn't have to, like in Marrakech where most interactants can speak French. By her lack of attempt to *pass* audibly, through language use that she could access when situationally necessary, Lamia becomes significantly more 'French' than her sister on the street in Marrakech.

Yet, Lamia's 'Moroccanness' is still called upon in strategic moments. She and her husband were in search of *tadelakt* pottery, colorfully plastered using a method created in the region of Marrakech. Since they were looking for something specific, they were asking friends and other contacts for references to trusted

vendors. When visiting the hotel where I was staying, they had the following interaction with the manager:

6.8.b. Fieldnote extract: Asking about tadelakt, 5 June 2008

> meet the 3 and go to the hotel to drop things. everyone takes a tour, and the manager comments when we are asking about tadelakt:
>
> Michel: Tu as qqn pr tadelakt? [you have someone for tadelakt?]
> Manager: (gesture, flat hand palm up, moving away) au souk … [in the souk]
> Yasmine: mais pour le prix [but for the price]
> Manager: tu as une marocaine avec toi.... deja... (gesture indicating lamia) [you have a Moroccan(f) with you... already]

This was the first time that Lamia and Michel met this hotel manager, and she had been introduced by Yasmine as her sister, also 'Moroccan'. My notes reflect what I considered a striking associative move he made between Lamia's presumed 'Moroccanness' and her ability to find a 'good price' in the market. When asked about prices by Yasmine – in reference to finding a vendor who would give them a 'right' price – he invokes Lamia's presumed 'Moroccanness' as a reason why our group does not need his help. Even though she does not work to establish her 'Moroccanness', he implies that it will operate automatically.

In the subsequent negotiation for tadelakt, Lamia takes no active role in 'being-Moroccan' in order to achieve a lower price. In fact, when her 'Moroccanness' is made explicit, it becomes incidental and unessential to the negotiation.

6.8.c. Fieldnote extract: Buying tadelakt, 6 June 2008

> Buying tadelakt (with Lamia and Michel and daughter) (which L calls 'tadelak[26]' at least once)
> I meet them around 5:30 at the shop which caught L's eye last time they were here for a particular color of turquoise for their house. They are looking for a lamp, i think.
> ...
> A very long process of getting out merchandise: looking thru everything on display in the right color (1 pied de lampe each of small round, small square and medium square); also plates and other decoration. Asking repeatedly for the vendor to see if he has a 2nd one of X style/size, if he has that kind of plate without the metal corners (M doesn't like); asking prices 1 by 1 and then asking me what I think as soon as the vendor leaves to look for a different object.
> ...
> L is not speaking much with the vendor - M is doing more go-between/ negotiation, asking prices and models. They discuss some between themselves as well, daughter is getting really bored.

26. The word origin of tadelakt is Amazigh (təlaġt), and follows Amazigh language rules marking feminine with /t/ at word initial and word end positions. 'Tadelak' is morphologically incorrect.

after models are brought down from above, when they are ready to start nego, L says something small in arabic, replied with nti maghrebiya? iyeh. mineen? min erfoud, etc. [you are moroccan(f)? yes. from where? from erfoud, etc.]
** mais nee en france? [but born in france?]
oui
that is the extent of the derija conversation: nearly all negotiation in French, with maybe light CS in derija, but not much from L's side.
At a conversation pause, she says to me something like, he doesn't even take into account that i'm arabic
- I hear this in a linguistic sense, i.e. speak to me in arabic; not necessarily in a price sense, i.e. lower the price for a fellow countryman
To me, the french-ness of the conversation makes sense: M is generally positioned closer to V, he's the one who is doing the price-asking and most of the conversation. L is tending to hang back and watch daughter.
V asks 1300 for 2 plates, 2 medium lamps and candle holder/photoflor?, L says 900 is her last price. a period of nonmovement on price, V to 1200, L sticks at 900. V pushes for movement, I say 950, and L laughs repeating the 950 to M. V says il faut faire un effort, on tous fait un effort [it's necessary to make an effort, we all make an effort] (implicating me in this too - all four of us faisons un effort [(we) make an effort]) V down to 1150, then to 1050, then 1000 with the deuil?/ light sockets included (M wants to look at them)
All of this, as I remember, was in French. No particular arabic phrases/passages come to mind, from V or from L, but I think V was using some CS.
Remembering L repeating price neuf cent neuf cent c'est ca que j'ai dit [nine hundred nine hundred, that's what I said]. It's M who finally agrees/ finalizes the price.

Although it was not recorded, this interaction clearly transpires much differently than the previous DV attempts at negotiation. First of all, the *derija*-speaking spouse does not take the role of primary negotiator. Lamia does not conversationally choose *derija* as the code for interaction, as all other DVs who could, did. The vendor is apparently unaware of her 'being-Moroccan' until well into their interaction, after exhaustively choosing the items they want, at the point when they are ready to begin negotiation. Following the establishment of Lamia as 'being-Moroccan', and her specific region, the vendor fills in the distance between the attractor 'Moroccanness' and Lamia's visible and audible embodimentality: 'but born in France?' If this were not the case, her mode of interaction – letting her French-speaking husband do all the talking instead of being the local language speaker and primary interlocutor – would not make sense.

Her 'Moroccanness' does come in to play when the negotiations become more active. Lamia comments to me that her 'Arabness' is not being acknowledged, despite the fact that the vendor explicitly acknowledges it, by questioning, and implicitly acknowledges it, with 'light CS [codeswitching] in *derija*' for the rest of

the negotiation. Her claim to 'Arabness' is not supported through her actions, in that she is not using her resources of embodimentality to make it relevant. While Hicham or her sister Yasmine make concerted efforts to speak *derija*, and to be recognized as 'Moroccan' through their communicative practices, Lamia's efforts are minor. Despite what the manager of my hotel suggested, her 'being-Moroccan' is not in and of itself a help for negotiation, inasmuch as she does not attempt to *pass* as Moroccan.

This positioning could also be a strategic choice, emergent from her history of visiting and the way she understands herself to 'be-Moroccan':

6.8.d. Interview extract: Since I came with him

Lamia, Erfoud, 8 June 2007, 50sec		
1	LW	j'ai entendu par d'autres: participants, qu'il y a toujours cet eh écart entre la communauté ici et la [communauté uh
		I heard from other: participants, that there's always this distance between the community here and the [community
2	L	[la communauté mmm. (.5)
		[the community mmm. (.5)
3	LW	[[bah tu- déjà-
		[[well you- already-
4	L	[[moins:: (.) je le sens moins depuis que=je=suis adulte.
		[[less:: (.) I feel it less since I've=become=an adult
5	LW	mm
6	L	maintenant euh: (1.1) maintenant je trouve que quand on vient ils nous intègrent bien, alors que=c'est=vrai- tout jeune, (.5) euh: (.3) quand on était au Maroc on était pas marocain, et quand on était en France, on était pas français.
		now uh: (1.1) now I find that when we come the integrate us well, although=it's=true- very young, (.5) uh: (.3) when we were in Morocco we were not Moroccan, and when we were in France, we were not French.
7	LW	oua/ voilà.
		yes exactly
8	L	c'est bizarre.
		it's weird
((waiter arrives with food; 9.6 sec excised))		
9	LW	donc eh:/ (.9) tu sais exactement le::- .hh °pardon° vous savez exacte[ment le moment hhhehheh (.) le moment où ça a changé? c'était comme eh:
		so eh:/ (.9) you know ((informal)) exactly the::- .hh °sorry° you know ((formal)) exact[ly the moment hhhehheh (.) the moment when that changed? it was like eh:
10	L	[non on peut se tutoyer

		[no we can use the informal
11	L	bah je crois que c'est à partir du moment que je suis venu avec lui, well I think it was from the moment that I came with him,
12	LW	mmm

Lamia has come to experience Morocco on different terms between her childhood and her marriage. Where she once was challenged about 'being-Moroccan', she recounted that this tension had diminished since she had been visiting with her French husband. Instead of resolving the problem of 'not-being-Moroccan enough' by trying to present herself as 'Moroccan', she passively understands that to be part of her embodiment – part of what should be read on her body, whether or not she puts effort into it.

This dynamic implicitly intersects with her familial relationships. Her resident family has accepted her marriage, and welcome her husband and daughter. Through regular visits to Marrakech they all participate in 'Moroccan culture' to a comfortable extent. The security of her 'Moroccanness' is problematic, however, as critics could easily accuse her of not 'being-Moroccan' at all by not adhering to Muslim doctrine forbidding Muslim women from marrying outside of the faith, which Lamia has clearly violated. Moreover, her experience of Morocco could be aligned more with a 'tourist' than a 'Moroccan', in that she spends the majority of her stay in hotels, interacts relatively little with her family or her hometown, and engages in leisure activities during her stay that are more typical of tourist consumption.

Yet unlike others in the same position – with a non-Moroccan spouse – she continues to maintain a presence in Morocco. In some ways, embodying her version of 'Moroccanness' has allowed her to be physically closer to Morocco than she might otherwise have been. In her everyday interactions with others in Morocco, she does not seem to struggle with trying to *pass* – neither visibly nor audibly. Her 'Moroccanness' exists and is part of her life choices whether she actively pursues it in interaction or not, whether others recognize and respond to it or not.

6.9. *Passing* ambigiously: 'Tourist', 'Moroccan' or 'Moroccan tourist'

This final section delivers some examples of embodimentalities that deviate from the patterns described above. While much of the rhetoric of 'being-Moroccan' leads towards ways DVs attempt to become 'Moroccan-in-*place*' while on holiday, there are significant ways they are simultaneously trying not to be 'Moroccan' in *place*, or becoming 'Moroccan' in ways that incorporate their 'Europeanness'. Being able to draw on these two attractors across multiple dimensions is practiced through encounters where one or the other can become instrumentally relevant.

6.9.1. Being misrecognized II: Being stopped on the street

This second example of misrecognition demonstrates the inverse effect of *passing*. Immediately following a discussion about clubs in Marrakech, and the 'shock' of seeing resident Moroccan women prostitutes inside these clubs, Mohammed and Fouzia offered the following stories of their last night out in Marrakech. Instead of being misrecognized as 'not-Moroccan', this group of Dutch-Moroccan students were stopped on the street for appearing, effectively, 'too Moroccan':

6.9.1.a. Interview extract: Morocco has two stories

Mohammed and Fouzia, Marrakech, 27 May 2008, 2m		
1	M	it's a **shock**ing story yeah. (.6) but you know the-e- Morocco has two stories. we: yes- yesterday? no? (.) **last night**, we went eh with a group to: walk, it=was three o'clock in the morning like that,
2	LW	mm mm
3	M	so the police stopped us/ (.) they want to see the identity, and they ehf: start to talk about, eh/ you have to be married [blah blah **blah**=
4	F	[**really**?
5	M	=I thought/ what are you talking about! heheh married why?
6	F	hhhahh
7	M	we're just a group from holland, we're relaxing, so he said ya:: ok::, but eh:: **next time** don't walk with **girls** blah blah **blah** (.6) <said> ok: alright.
8	LW	mmm
9	M	and if you go to clubs eh you see (.5)[different custom/
10	F	[a lot of contradiction

((four turns excised of LW police story))		
11	F	I don't like it hhhahha. (
12	LW	hhh but um:
13	F	the police stopped us also yesterday/ when=we=were (.) on our way eh to the club.
14	LW	really?
15	F	ya ya. (.) because we were (.) we'v- we were very remarkable/ cuz (.) we went with like (.5)=
16	M	hmmm hmm
17	F	=thirteen or fourteen [people (.) ya (.4) and the: and the police eh officer::, he eh stepped out of the car/ (.4) and he were ve- he was very- (.3) h-he was not **nice**. (.3) **who are you** and eh: (.) **where** are you **coming from** and where are you going to.
18	M	[fourteen people ya
19	LW	mm-mm
20	F	and that- we know how to respond/ we know, you ha- you just have to stay **calm** and respond in the proper way. and em (.7) and then when we explained we are some **students**:: who are staying at the <**name**> **hotel**, and we come from the Netherlands/ (.) he was ah he was very **nice** then/[at the end, he said **ok**::/ I just want to say that you have to be **careful**:: blah bla=blah
21	LW	[mm
22	LW	was he speaking in Arabic the who[le time? ah yeah, yeah/
23	F	[yes yes/ [he was speaking Arabic
24	M	[ya
25	M	no:: a lot of words in French, Spaans ((Spanish))/ (.) so: I- I didn't understand all the things, so I said (.4) please in hh=Arabic=hhh so I of=
26	LW	ahehehahah
27	M	=I don't understand you

Mohammed and Fouzia tell very similar stories of two separate encounters with police on the last night of their group's excursion to Marrakech. These stories bring attention to an aspect of territorialized 'Moroccanness' which DVs nearly always encounter with surprise. Control over illicit sexual liaison between Moroccans in Morocco is institutionalized, as evidenced by the fact that, late at night, it is common for police officers to stop mixed gender groups and request proof of marriage. Hotels are also required to confirm the marital status of a Moroccan couple at registration, but not of foreign couples. The police may have stopped these groups to protect the honor of the 'Moroccan' girls included in it, or they could equally as well have been expecting bribes from the 'Moroccan' men

who were breaking rules by taking out unprotected women. In each case, however, the counterargument was to explain how they are 'not-Moroccan' in that circumstance; that they do not need to follow these territorializing rules. Given the intense promotion and economic boon of Marrakech as a cosmopolitan escape for tourists, it would be difficult to imagine a Moroccan police officer stopping a group of thirteen or fourteen 'foreign' tourists if they were out late on the way to a nightclub. Instead, in this case, Mohammed, Fouzia, and their friends encountered a problem because they – their bodies, their embodimentality – were misrecognized as 'Moroccan'.

As Fouzia reports it, this incident became a negotiation of 'being-Moroccan' but not being subject to Moroccan rules. She explains how they justified their illicit action by 'being-European', as Dutch students on holiday, staying at a hotel. Yet she says her interaction took place entirely in *derija*; Mohammed had to ask the police officer to use *derija* so that he would understand. In effect, both of them report explicitly asking the police to consider their groups as 'not-Moroccan' while using *derija* to do so. 'Being-Moroccan' becomes an instrumental attractor, a node which DVs want approach but only through certain dimensions, in certain contexts.

6.9.2. Becoming 'Moroccan tourists': Appropriating 'Moroccan' styles

Much like *passing* audibly can be a project of negotiating multiplicity – of being 'European' without being 'French', or being 'Moroccan-by-*descent*' and not 'Moroccan-in-*place*' – attempts to *pass* visually can involve multiple attractors and dimensions implicated in complex negotiations of 'Moroccanness'. One example of this is the stylistic practices of dress of DVs during holidays in Morocco, which seem to be enacted as part of 'being-Moroccan' but implicated in 'being-European' and being on holiday. These adornment practices connect them more potently with an attractor of 'Moroccan tourist' (6.6.2).

A common piece of clothing found in markets anywhere in Morocco – both tourist- and local-oriented ones – is a garment that comes in forms for both genders, differentiated mostly by bright colors for women and grays, browns and blacks for men. The basic shape is a long and rectangular loose-fitting sheath, made from light cotton or polyester, with arm openings but not sleeves and sometimes pockets or holes to access interior pockets. The sleeve holes and collar may be embroidered,

giving some stylistic variation beyond color to what is otherwise a very simple garment. It has different names in different parts of the country, and I have heard called a 'marrakshia', 'b'daya', 'gondorra' or pyjama, depending on the region and gender.

During the summer, these sheaths are more frequently visible on the street, partly because they are a hot weather style and partly because they have been adopted as a style of leisure clothing by DVs. When Otman referred me to 'traditional' clothing, on further investigation I discovered he meant this garment (6.3.2.b). Female participants also wore it, or sought it as something to buy during their visits. Yet, both men and women seemed to be wearing them in ways that vary from the 'traditional' manner, by using it as a covering garment over swimming clothes when going to and from the beach.

6.9.2.a. Fieldnote extract: Gondorras on Sabadia beach, 22 july 2008

> I'm noticing more and more men wearing gondorras to go to the beach: to my mind, there's a feeling of strutting in this kind of native outfit, something the same men probably would never wear in EU. also, they all look fresh and new, the gondorras, and they are often not wearing full clothing underneath, instead wearing it as a sort of beach cover-up. bizarre.

The manner of wearing what is physically an item of local material culture evokes how differences emerge between DV and resident Moroccans along lines of style. Resident Moroccans generally wear two or three simple layers of fully covering clothing, like long cotton pyjamas, underneath a decorative outer layer. Changing from indoor to outdoor clothing means adding or removing the decorative outer layer, while others layers might be worn continuously, day and night. It is common to see men wearing gondorras out of the house, but for women it is generally for the interior – a house dress.

6.9.2.b. Fieldnote extract: Oasiria aquatic park, Marrakech, 9 August 2008

> we get up to leave, and N is in her 3rd ensemble - from a shorter pattern dress to an ample marrakshia with the sides tucked in... I'm wondering, where she got that idea from? is this everywhere?

The final comment in the fieldnote from 9 August refers to the way this style travels around Morocco among DVs. I had first noticed it during my 2007 pilot fieldwork in Al Hoceima as a trend among some women who wore the sheath in a very specific manner. They interrupted the length of the garment by tucking it in at the sides, using whatever they were wearing underneath – presumably a bikini – to

gather the cloth so that the fabric puffed out around the waist or hips. I interpreted a functional and taste logic to this, as these garments tend to be difficult to walk in when allowed to hang to full length. They are also shapeless, in terms of the contours of the body, so tucking in at the hips changes them from 'sheath' to 'dress', as Naima was doing in Marrakech. As the first fieldnote indicates, I also noticed men wearing them on or near the beach, as something to cover-up a bathing suit. Men did not seem to be altering the way it was worn, apart from the fact that they didn't wear the normal combination of layers underneath.

Yet for both genders, these styles of wearing a 'traditional' garment are challenging to territorial ideas of modesty. Women wearing this sheath as an outer layer outside of the house is akin to wearing pyjamas in the street. Moreover, a bikini as their only clothing underneath means that the outlines of the body and the skin can be seen through the lightweight cotton. Tucking the sheath into the bathing suit emphasizes this semi-nudity by indicating exactly what they are wearing that should not be seen (outside of the beach). Men are also often wearing only a bathing suit underneath, instead of the trousers and shirt one might otherwise see as their interior layer. Although I did not encounter in my data any direct reference to this style of clothing as being explicitly inappropriate by local Moroccans, seeing it repeatedly on the street was striking to me. After years of learning to change my own dress to adhere to codes of modesty in Morocco, aspects of this form seemed inappropriate, mostly because the sheath was worn by both men and women without interior covering layers. This is not to say that resident Moroccans do not challenge appropriateness and modesty in their dress, but showing skin on a Moroccan body – particularly the stomach on women – is unusual. 'European' style, as it incorporates ideas of appropriateness, makes this style feasible as a use of Moroccan material on DV bodies that are moving in Moroccan public space.

Similarly to how the symbol Om came to be a significant identifier for Saldanha of the appropriation of typically Indian ideas by Goa 'freaks', this garment incorporates an appropriation and reconfiguration of local rules on bodies that are habituated to other dynamics. The style with which they choose to wear this reflects a sense of bodily modesty more aligned with 'being-European' than 'being-Moroccan', much like Mohammed and Fouzia's explanations to the police

reflected assumptions about what nighttime spaces are inhabitable by 'European' bodies or by 'Moroccan' ones. In other words, these practices demonstrate 'Europeanness' through embodimentality of Moroccan flesh as much as they demonstrate 'Moroccanness' through multiplicity. In these cases, I argue that DVs are not 'doing being-Moroccan' but rather being themselves – consumers with European preferences and access to economic capital, embedded in Moroccan spaces and webs of practice.

6.10. Conclusion: Ambiguous embodimentality

In the preceding examples, DVs negotiate their *hexis*, dress, and language in interactions with resident Moroccans such that the way they practice their bodies – their embodimentality – can be recognized as 'being-Moroccan' to a greater and lesser extent. Their efforts to become 'Moroccan', or to *pass* as 'Moroccan', are not universally consistent nor permanent, but emergent in encounters where 'Moroccanness' is somehow at stake. The stakes are linked with other attributes that fold into the attractor 'Moroccanness', like being free from harassment on the street, getting the 'real' price, or feeling oneself to belong in the territory of Morocco as a descendent of Morocco. The ambiguity of their embodimentality permits this dynamic fluctuation between poles of 'being-European' and 'being-Moroccan', and also assures that they will never become 'Moroccan' in a fixed and unified sense. The project of *passing* therefore is not an end goal but asymptotic and uncertain. It is a project of becoming rather than being, in situations where its relevance is often strategic.

The strategic nature of this project runs through many of the examples outlined here, but becomes most apparent in the last section. Being visibly and audibly recognizable as 'Moroccan' has different implications on the street or in the market, where it may have repercussions in consumption of goods or of spaces. Most of the time, this consumption entails the pursuit of *passing*, but occasionally *passing* becomes a blockage, like when adhering to 'being-Moroccan in Morocco' presents obstacles to mobility in the form of being stopped by police.

Despite demonstrable efforts to minimize it, this ambiguous embodimentality can never be eradicated. In fact, eradication I would argue, is not

the desired outcome. Unlike traditional examples of 'passing', DVs do not hold the belief that their 'Europeanness', or their ambiguousness, can be hidden or buried completely. They know that 'they know' – that resident Moroccans see and hear them as being from 'across the sea' – yet they continue to make these efforts at *passing* every day. It becomes part of the holiday, successive encounters contributing collected moments to how they understand themselves to both be and not-be 'Moroccan'.

While this 'neither here nor there' ambiguity can engender frustration, it can also be advantageous for their socioeconomic mobility. Their limitations may be forceful – they may always be recognized on the street as 'not-quite-Moroccan' or their accent in *derija* may always give them away as out of place – but the mobility this ambiguity allows is also potent. It means that they can intermix communicative practices and consumption practices, being 'Moroccan' bodies doing 'European' activities in a Moroccan space. These practices leak into one another, making the 'Moroccan' appear 'European' and vice versa, or mixing entirely to become an assemblage of DVs on holiday in Morocco. As 'Moroccanness' and 'Europeanness' are attractors along multiple dimensions – linking *descent* and *place* simultaneously with relations of mobility, feelings of modesty, and economic status – so practices of *passing* radiate inwards through a sense of embodimentality and simultaneously outwards, connecting to other bodies in proximity. Moving in so many directions at once, there are inevitable contradictions. 'Being-Moroccan' in a sense of personal identification intersects with 'being-Moroccan' in socioeconomic, sociocultural, and institutional dimensions – not all of which may be relevant to a given interaction, but can emerge in it unexpectedly.

This assemblage is made relevant in the moments where its logics are challenged, where 'Moroccan-European' bodies are forced to become one or the other. As Ahmed says, in continuation of the epigraph of this chapter:

> Having been singled out in the line, at the borders, we become defensive; we assume a defensive posture, as we 'wait' for the line of racism, to take our rights of passage away. If we inherit the failure of things to be habitual, then we might also acquire a tendency to look behind us. (2007, 163)

The way DVs experience being 'strangers' in Morocco is a different directional flow of essentialism: they are expected to (or expected themselves to) adhere to a concept of what being-Moroccan is, but constantly fail, to the point where the

expectations have decreased as they become increasingly isolated in their own circles. The border, for them, is porous; if they are not accepted as being-Moroccan, they can retreat to being-European.

Although affective attachment may be the implied norm for 'second generation' migrants, a sense of outsiderness is an unavoidable part of the dynamic for Moroccan DVs traveling to Morocco. They negotiate this outsider status in their everyday interactions, both in trying to refute it through claiming local identities or trying to 'pass' as local, and in exploring the advantages afforded by being an outsider. As much as they have agency in forming their sense of identity, they are embedded in structures of embodimentality that circumscribe their potential for choice. Their bodies genealogically marked as 'being-Moroccan' combined with their *hexis* and linguistic practices marked as 'being-European' places them in an vaccilating node, in which certain positions, like becoming 'Moroccan-in-*place*', cannot be achieved except in rare and fleeting cases. Likewise, 'being-European' without the obligatory 'Moroccan' *attachment* implied through their material bodies is nearly impossible. Their embeddedness in both 'being-Moroccan' and 'being-European' means that in this context they cannot exclusively be either. This double bind emerges as a viscosity, encouraging Moroccan DVs to flow with their own crowd.

7. Consuming bodies: Diasporic visitors as embodied touristic consumers in Morocco

7.1. Introduction

Previous chapters have explored embodiment and practices of 'Moroccanness' through a lens primarily directed on communicative practices. Continuing to question the rhetoric of the negative formulation of hybridity, this chapter refocuses that lens through practices of consumption: in and through the consuming body, in places, and in movement around Morocco. Although this is a shift in perspective, the effect should be not of turning a many-sided dice to another face, but of rotating the lens of a kaleidoscope, to look at a different layer in multiplicity. While other layers sharpen around DVs' motivations to travel to Morocco and challenges in performing their bodies as 'being-Moroccan', this layer is in focus on how DVs are 'doing being a diasporic visitor on holiday' – being themselves, in effect – through consumption practices that are interpreted as 'not-Moroccan'.

These data are organized around the activities DV participants were observed and recorded doing while I was with them, and what they attested to doing on a regular basis while in Morocco. In contrast to leisure practice in playscapes at 'home,' DVs here are practicing 'being-on-holiday': they are constantly searching for the next excitement, trying to fill their hours with leisure consumption out of the house. I contend that the way they do this is specifically 'Moroccan', but not because it adheres to any national tradition. Rather, it is territorially 'Moroccan,' a space and style of leisure consumption that exists every summer when DVs gather in Morocco. The space is composed both of local entities, of places and bodies that belong in Morocco, and of these DV 'Moroccan' bodies that gather together in specific spaces and times, regularly but unpredictably. Inasmuch as the spaces, places, and bodies are embedded in Morocco, the ways that DVs move through them reflect influence of European homes. In assemblage these processes are intensively linked. In other words, the sites relate to an attractor of 'Moroccanness' while the forms of mobility practiced

relate to an attractor of 'Europeanness', but interact indivisibly, each creating conditions of possibility for the other.

In that many of the activities are concerned with leisure consumption outside the home, a central part of these activities is negotiating autonomy from the *attachment* DVs initially enact by coming 'home' to Morocco. *Attachment* is counterbalanced by *insha'allah*, a notion that was briefly discussed earlier (5.2.2) as a fetishized spontaneity that becomes important in relation to the prospect and project of going on holiday in Morocco. Approaching the attractor of *insha'allah* engages dimensions that relate to autonomy, or the extent to which an individual can choose how and where to spend his or her time. Like *attachment*, this attractive force engages a dual motion, through the resources individuals have available to them that smooth paths of spontaneity and mobility, and the limitations they adhere to out of responsibility, obligation, or respect. *Insha'allah* in this context is nested in many dimensions, but I will focus the analysis specifically on two that become relevant: economic status and gender. These dimensions emerge as relevant through DVs' embodied practices: in what their access to capital enables DVs to do, what codes of conduct along gender lines allow or disallow them to do, and different interactions thereof.

By examining what DVs do while in Morocco, I will explore how this fetishized spontaneity emerges along dimensions of gender and economic status to create what Saldanha (2006; 2008) calls *viscosity*. Through collectively seeking *insha'allah* experiences, characterized as leisure consumption activities realized through their spontaneous movement around Morocco, DV bodies tend to occupy similar spaces. These are not the same precise places, but ones that are similarly designated for leisure consumption, like beaches, pools, cafés, restaurants, and nightclubs. As mobile consumers, DV leisure practices and embodimentalities create shifting pathways and nodes that emerge throughout Morocco as the consumption landscape changes over time, creating a flow of collective DV leisure that becomes more than its individual participants. The way they 'do leisure' draws on 'being-Moroccan' and 'being-European' in embodied multiplicity, through their sense of *descent* as motivation to be in Morocco as much as through a *place*-based

desire to 'tour' and consume Morocco through bargain-priced, exotic leisure activity.

The first section of this chapter (7.2) frames the way practices of diasporic visitors might be imagined to fit into or to challenge ideas of tourism and being a tourist. Next, in section 7.3 I review some of the practices I observed DVs taking part in that are aligned with practices of non-Moroccan visitors in Morocco, enacting touristic consumption but with some awareness of local practice. From there, I discuss in section 7.4 how gendered participation enters into touristic practices through differential autonomy in mobility as practiced by men and women. Following that, section 7.5 is an analysis of gender as a place-based dimension of public consumption, contrasting what DVs are accustomed to in Europe in a way that creates insulated places for them to be comfortable consumers. Finally, these elements combine in section 7.6 through an analysis of DV mobility as touristic consumers, and their modes of seeking leisure in Morocco enabled by automobility and intensified through affective hypermobility in viscous spaces of consumption around Morocco.

7.2. Holiday-making: The touristic in the diasporic

Calling diasporic visitors 'tourists' is a delicate designation. As McCabe (2005) argues, calling anyone 'tourist' has become increasingly problematic, as the term continues to acquire negative associations. It has become a way of defining one's practices in opposition, as 'tourism' comes to describe a mode of superficial consumption. Some kind of consumption is inevitable in any form of travel, or any contact with another place, as tourist, traveller or even ethnographer (Galani-Moutafi 2000). Given their ambiguous sense of belonging, as demonstrated in previous chapters, DVs are perhaps more sensitive to the implications of commodifying distance in touristic leisure consumption. Being assigned a label like 'tourist' implies that they seek what Zygmunt Bauman calls a 'pure relationship' with the place they visit, in that they have 'no other purpose than the consumption of pleasurable sensation' (A. Franklin 2003, 208), completely divested of connection to the place beyond this act of consumption. Yet the appellation 'tourist' emerges as an attractor, occasionally enunciated in data recounted in the

previous chapter (6.6.2.a, 6.6.1.c) both by DVs and by resident Moroccans. I contend that this 'tourist' attractor becomes attached to DVs in response to a banal mode of touristic consumption (Franklin and Crang 2001, 7), enmeshed in modern and post-modern concepts of leisure (Rojek and Urry 1997; McCabe 2005) that DVs tend to practice on holiday. In other words, DVs emerge as 'tourists' in terms of the capital they have to spend and what they choose to consume, which destabilizes their attraction towards 'being-Moroccan'.

According to Urry (1990) and Rojek (1993), structures of tourism have roots in bourgeois modernity and its divisions of labor and leisure. By inhabiting a work-oriented timespace, where labor efforts are paramount and concentrated, modern workers earn the privilege to inverse their activities in leisure timespace, where relaxation is paramount and concentrated. Mass tourism is one form of consumption that fills this leisure timespace, emerging from historical patterns of travel (Rojek 1993) as short-term consumption of an essentialized, 'authentic' experience of a place and its discursively-assigned attributes (MacCannell 1999). That act of consumption is embodied through exchange of economic capital – reserves of money and of time – for intangible, embodied capital, such as experiential enrichment, entertainment, or relaxation taking place at a distance from home (Ateljevič 2000; Britton 1991). 'The four S's' – sun, sand, sea and sex – have come to signify the major consumption activities that are codified as touristic leisure, to which Crick (1989) adds sights (places to see), servility (by others, to the tourist), and savings (comparably inexpensive goods and services) as part of the script (Crang 1997) of going on holiday. In short, as much as there are culturally prescribed ways of doing 'working', there are ways of doing 'leisure' that fulfill expectations embedded in leisure timespace. These include the pursuit of appropriate experiences, here revolving around consumption of 'sun, sand, sea, sex, sights, servility, and savings' in another place, as ways one can validly enjoy being on holiday.

Between Europe and Morocco, relative access to specific kinds of capital are reflected in tourism flows and accessibilities. Thinking through DVs as becoming-tourist, their access to capital procured by labor and turned into leisure emerge as vitally linked to *place*. Most workers in Europe have enough expendable income to

invest in leisure spending that involves international travel. Places like Morocco, classified as 'lower middle income' by the World Bank[27], are frequent choices for tourism from high income nations because cost of living differentials and low-cost airline tickets make traveling there cheaper than traveling in one's home country. Resident Moroccans are considerably impeded in their international mobility due to visa regulations put in place by high income nations. Such regulations demand proof of relatively substantial income, of job security, and that the applicant will not exceed his or her visa as a prerequisite for touristic travel. The flows of capital and tourists are thus predominantly unidirectional, of European tourists towards Morocco where the path is relatively free of bureaucratic and financial obstacles, and much more infrequently of Moroccan tourists towards Europe (cf Stephenson 2006).

Leisure activities and spaces in Morocco geared towards foreign tourists, much like other similarly 'gilded' sites (Minca 2000), are indicators of economic class amongst resident Moroccans who partake in them. Only those who earn salaries comparable to a median salary in a high-income nation – which in Morocco translates to upper middle class or above – can afford to consume these designated, exclusive leisure spaces. As would be typical in any society, privileged leisure spaces, and access to them, become more desirable and distinctive (Bourdieu 1984) as elite consumption. The differential access to leisure in Morocco emerges as parallel consumption environments, in which foreign tourists or those with access to 'foreign' levels of capital inhabit elite spaces, while local, domestic tourists, generally without access to those levels of capital, occupy more publicly accessible leisure outlets (Berriane and Popp 1999).

DVs' access to European capital gives them a choice as leisure consumers in Morocco: to participate in 'Moroccan' popular leisure spaces or in parallel, elite 'tourist' consumption spaces. Their unquestioned access to these kinds of capital, which is often in stark contrast to their families who continue to reside in Morocco, cements the sense of class distinction between them and the majority of resident Moroccans. This distinction is echoed in other research on diasporic visitors, who report perceptions of resentment by relatives or peers in the homeland because of their differential access to capital (Duval 2003a; Potter and Phillips 2006a;

27. http://data.worldbank.org/country/morocco, accessed 26 October 2010.

Stephenson 2002). In many ways their practices are identical to those of other foreign tourists: they follow a similarly structured summer holiday calendar, and use their capital, both in money and in time ascribed to leisure activity, with the purpose of achieving the touristic affect of relaxation through consumption of sun, sand, sea, sex, sights, servility and savings. Diasporic visitors enter this dynamic as consumers whose activities mirror those of other foreign tourists, but who are also integrated in a locally-regulated gaze on their bodies and informed by their knowledge of Morocco as 'Moroccans'.

The idea of a exoticizing, subjectifying 'tourist gaze' (Urry 1990) by the consumer onto the 'local' is inverted for DVs. Instead of their gaze being 'dominant', they are gazed upon as bodies considered to be in some ways members of the local community, yet transgressive of appropriate activities for individuals who come from their economic backgrounds. Although they come from primarily working class families, often in rural areas, their accumulation of time and money as leisure capital, normal in European terms, makes them stand out as economically mobile along class lines with remarkable speed and intensity. While family members might be aware that they work in Europe, the majority of time they are present in Morocco is time 'on holiday', trying to shed the feeling of a work timespace. They are engaged in the pursuit of beauty, relaxation, fun, excitement, adventure, pleasure, and sometimes knowledge of history or tradition that fulfills their desire for leisure capital accumulation in that timespace. As, such, their choices on how to spend their labor capital to acquire leisure capital become sharply visible, socially relevant, and cogent to their relationship with locally resident Moroccans as a dimension of difference produced through consumption practices.

7.3. Being touristic consumers: Magic, beauty, and sun

7.3.1. Ways of escape: Sanae

> *It's our third or fourth day in Marrakech together, Sanae and I, and the heat is really getting to us. Our activities become less and less ambitious as we wake up later and later in the day, and the 40-44°C greets us at full strength, overwhelming any urge to attempt anything more strenuous than finding a swimming pool. At some point, while we are wandering in our sweaty daze, she responds to a text on her phone from a sibling in the north: her father is in Morocco, far far away up there and wondering if she is going to visit. Whatever*

release heading towards the beach with her family might hold, she can't get enthusiastic about the idea. Not only the travel up there, and then back again relatively soon because she has a plane to catch in Casablanca, but she also just doesn't feel like dealing with them. It promises to be too much trouble. "J'ai pas d'envie..."[28]

To begin, I discuss here activities DVs engaged in that marked them as particularly 'European' consumers. The activities themselves are not uniquely practiced by foreigners; in fact, all of the activities described in this section are also practiced, to a greater or lesser degree, by resident Moroccans. What sets these apart is the way DVs practice them: as 'tourists' with access to spaces outside of Morocco and accompanying access to elevated economic capital, enabling them to become increasingly autonomous while in Morocco. Their practices indicate how they become em-bodied as 'tourists,' from the places and manner in which they choose to consume to how their bodies are engaged in that consumption, and are made comfortable and relaxed as touristic consumers. Like Sanae in the above fieldwork narrative, much of their activities in Morocco revolve around what one feels like doing and where one feels like being.

7.3.2. Parallel geographies: DVs at leisure in Morocco

Many participants made a distinction between the holiday time they would spend with family, and a 'real' vacation that meant escape from family *attachment*. Previously, this impulse was discussed through the desire and ability to tour around Morocco with family (5.5). Here, it is located in the most important site for international tourism in Morocco: Marrakech.

Marrakech has become a place where Moroccan tradition and authenticity is produced in state- and internationally-sanctioned ways for a tourism market. Having long been a site for touristic visiting, since Lyautey's initial branding of Marrakech as an exotic paradise (3.4.3) Marrakech has boomed in popularity with international tourists in recent years. Amidst new construction increasing the urban footprint and new renovations on older medina houses to create boutique hotels, Marrakech as developed reputation of cosmopolitan luxury mixed with exotic tradition (Sherwood 2005). The main square, Djemaa el Fna, was designated a UNESCO Intangible World Heritage site in 2001, reifying the space because of the cultural production that takes place in it (Minca 2006). Along with certain other

28. I don't feel like it.

sites in Morocco, like the old medina in Fes, Marrakech is internationally recognized as typically Moroccan.

Marrakech stands out as a unique destination to DVs as much as to international visitors. Nearly all the DVs I interviewed or accompanied, as well as nearly all of the 93?? surveyed, either wanted to visit or had visited Marrakech. They cited reasons often mirroring those of foreign tourists, describing Marrakech as a special city, full of opportunities for leisure, fun and excitement, and something to 'see' that contributes to touristic experiential capital (MacCannell 1999). As the leaders of a group of more than thirty Dutch students at the end of their week-long holiday in Marrakech, Mohammed and Fouzia describe here how Marrakech was chosen as their destination. Earlier in the interview, Fouzia had commented that Marrakech is advertised to be a 'city of magic'; here, towards the end of the interview, we discussed how it performed as 'magic':

7.3.2.a. Interview extract: It's like the Eiffel tower

Mohammed and Fouzia, Marrakech, 27 May 2008, 2m30		
1	M	the first idea was to go to: Barcelona/
2	LW	mm
3	M	.hhh and (.) a lot of people wanted to go to Marrakech/ so we said why not? Marrakech,
		(1.3)
4	LW	would you ever organize (.) like/ this kind of trip, to go:/ (.5) I=don't=know/ like, Tangier? or Tetouan? umm (1.0) w-=
5	M	=it's possible eh[:: (1.7) everything is possible [heheheh
6	LW	[hehheheh
		(1.1)
7	LW	[[well it's-
8	M	[[it's not like we don't want to go to::: [(.) Hoceima or Tetouan, (.8) it's just eh: Marrakech is nice, everyone wants to see Marrakech, so:: (.) we go to Marrakech.
9	LW	[yeah. yeah,
10	LW	**why is** that? that everyone [wants to see Marrakech.
11	M	[I don't know! I don't hh know=
12	LW	=hhhehehehehehh
13	M	what's spe[cial about the city
14	F	i-i-it's- it's the same/ it's like (.4) the: Eiffel tou- Eiffel t:ower=
15	LW	mmmhmm,
16	F	=of Paris.

17	LW	mm hmm/
18	F	when you go there you're like/ **ok**::: what's- what is/ what is there, and/ what is this, but
19	LW	yeah/ [(.) that's **it**? [that's-
20	M	[yeah but yeah
21	F	[is tha- yeah that's it, that's **a::ll**, that's all you get to see, but/ (1.0) yeah. (.3) you just have to go there some- one- once in hh=your life=hh and that's all
22	LW	so it wasn't magic? there's no magic in Marrakech?
23	M	mhhhh
24	LW	hhehhh[eh
25	F	[**w:ell**, we went to fantasia, [(.) that was- was a little bit magical, but/
26	M	[fantasia yeah
27	M	it's not like lagi- magic, [(.) ahhehehe.hh (.)
28	F	no. (1.3) [y- you have to imagine the magic, that's wha- that's whehhehh
29	M	[[Fantasia it's
30	LW	[[Djemaa elfna, no magic?
31	F	no- (.4) only em: (.3) annoying people.
32	LW	really/
33	F	yeah. ya? (1.3) °but° (.) I think, (.) because- be[cause yo-
34	M	[but I think if you: want (.) really: magic, you can have magic=hh here. () at Djemaa elfna there's lots of women who: eh:: wants to, (.3) to **do** something for you, if you want.
		(1.8)
35	M	so[:
36	F	[°hhahahaha°
37	LW	mhmhmhmhmhm
38	M	[[not- not in eh[:
39		[[((F and LW laughing))
40	F	[not in that w[ay
41	LW	[not in the dirty sense
42	M	no: no no no no.
43		((LW and M clear throats))
44	F	but like what, cuz-
45	LW	the souk, no magic?
		(2.1)
46	F	no- like/ the souk and- and the *plein* ((square)) it's- (.9) it's the **same**, it's- that's not something (.8) **Marrakech-ish**.
47	LW	marrakchi yeah

48	F	yeah. (.7) is- it's evry- **ever** that's the same/ sou:k/ and the **prices**/ and the pe- and the **vendors** and/ (2.7) I don't think Marrakech has something special.
49	LW	mm
50	M	well Djemaa elfna is::: (.5) [marrakchi
51	F	[ya but- (1.0) but **before,** but before when- when eh when I saw on the internet, Djemaa elfna, we **have** to go Djemaa elfna/ and when we went, (.) it was like/ ok hheheh (.) that's all!

For the majority of this group, it was their first time in Marrakech. As most Dutch DVs are from the north of Morocco, they are not forced to pass by Marrakech on their way 'home', and are less likely to have visited with family. The leaders chose that city with input from their group members as the place they wanted to visit above other options, like Barcelona. Fouzia, as a voice of the cohort of first-time visitors, draws a clear comparison between metonymic semiotic figures like the Eiffel tower with Paris (turns 14-21), and how she had conceived of Marrakech through the Djemaa el Fna before visiting (turn 51). She identifies the distance between the expectations she formed through media and mystique and the reality she encountered, which was not very 'magical'. The encounter Fouzia cites as being 'magical,' or pseudo-magical is Fantasia Chez Ali (turn 25), a cultural reproduction show intended for a tourist audience as a demonstration of the variety of tradition and heritage in Morocco. Mohammed turns 'magic' into a joke, by referencing to women selling 'magic' with herbal treatments on Djemaa el Fna (turns 34-43). Fouzia's final interpretation is that the souk and Djemaa el Fna are like anywhere else in Morocco, and therefore not particular to Marrakech (turns 46-48).

The activities members of this group did in Marrakech, and the expectations at least some of them had of what Marrakech would be as a special place, are very much aligned with what foreign visitors do and expect to see in Morocco. One telling activity, under this rubric, is their decision to see Fantasia Chez Ali (Figure 15, which is clearly designed for tourist consumption:

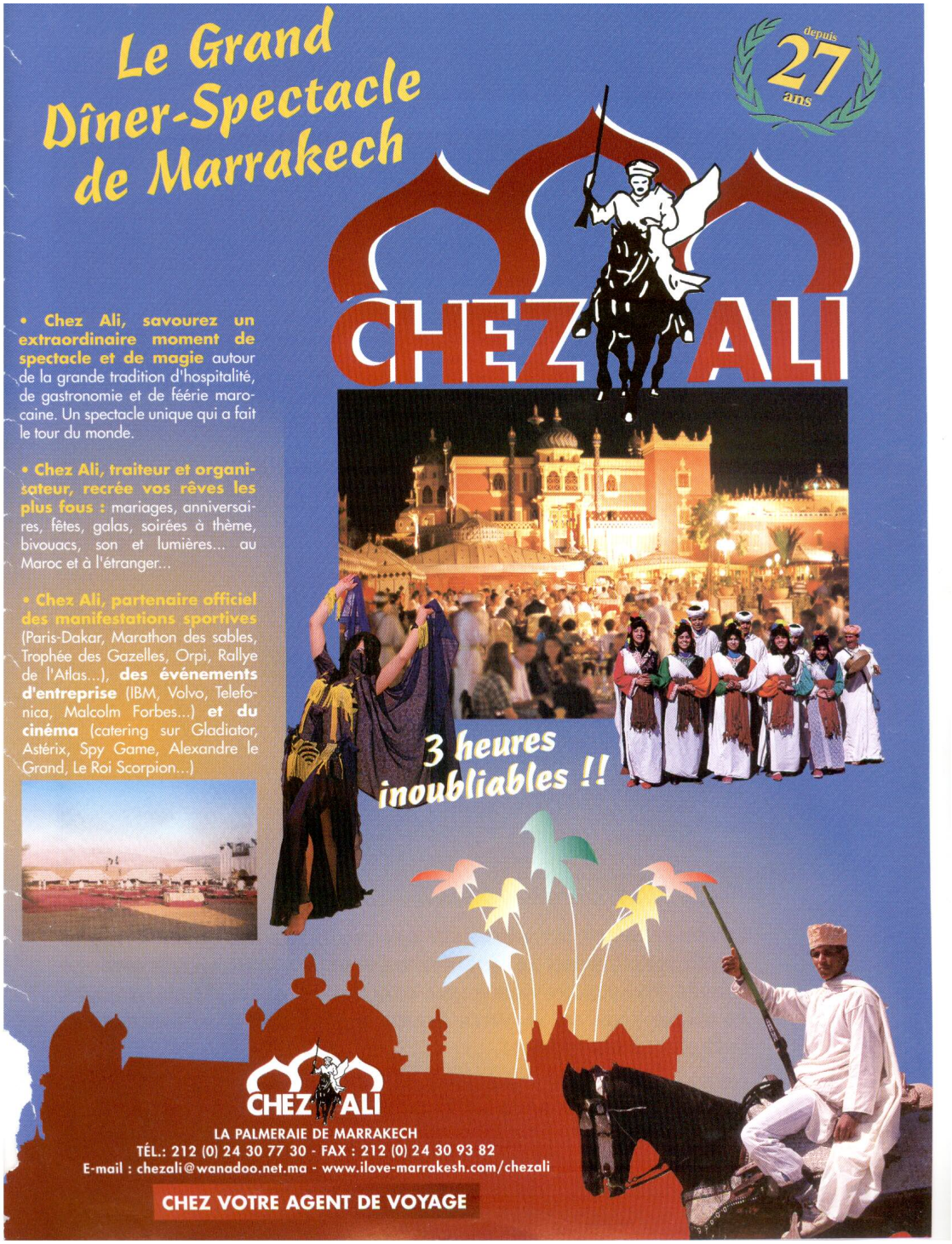

Figure 15. Advertisement for Fantasia Chez Ali, taken from the in-flight magazine of Atlas-Blue Airlines, subsidiary of Royal Air Maroc (May 2008)

Much of what I observed DVs doing while in Marrakech also mirrored activities of foreign tourists. They visited Djemaa el Fna, shopped in the souk nearby, ate from the food stalls occupy the square at night, drank at the cafés that overlook the medina (Image 19) , and got henna tattoos from women set up in their spaces on the square (Image 20).

Image 19. A break on the terrace at Café des Epices, Marrakech

Image 20. Henna tattoing near the souk entrance, Djemaa el Fna

They took advantage of other tourist-oriented offerings around Marrakech: they stayed in deluxe hotel complexes on the recently built stretch of Boulevard Mohammed VI (Image 21), swam at Oasiria aquatic park just outside the city (Image 22), ate and drank at chic cafés in Marrakech's upscale neighborhoods, and danced until closing at its nightclubs (Image 23).

Image 21. A view of Boulevard Mohammed VI, Marrakech

Image 22. Group at Oasiria, Marrakech

Image 23. Group at Pacha, Marrakech

In analyzing these modes of practice, which take place in Marrakech and elsewhere in Morocco, I want to emphasize the embodimentality of these forms of experiential leisure consumption (Malbon 1999). They all involve spending discretionary capital to participate in spaces, environments and affects that are linked to 'being on holiday'. They are facilitated by being in Morocco, away from European homes and rules, and furthermore being in Marrakech, away from familial *attachment*.

7.3.3. Insulated consumption: Having a 'real' vacation in Marrakech

In June 2008, before the crush of the summer holiday began, I found a number of participants with similar backgrounds and travel plans in Marrakech. They were primarily French couples, many with a young child in tow, visiting Marrakech as a separate trip from their family visit. I also occasionally found single French men traveling in groups, either with other men or with work colleagues on an organized trip, and I met one French group of two couples, two siblings and a friend. By this point, I had visited Marrakech twice with Yasmine A.: once in March 2008 with a group of friends, and again in June 2008 with two colleagues and her sister Lamia.

What is striking about this collection of participants is both their mode of visiting and their stated motivations. Generally, they had been to Marrakech previously and came on this holiday to enjoy the leisure consumption it provides, booking rooms in one of the larger, European-priced hotel complexes with a pool (Image 24), and passing a week or more of relaxation in the sun. Moreover, they all thought of this trip as a 'vacation' separate from a family holiday. Some of them had family holidays to their hometowns planned for later in the year, making this one of the two times (at least) that year they would visit Morocco.

The presence of these groups in hotel complexes is indicative of one distinction between domestic tourist flows in place, and foreign flows coming from other places in which DVs are implicated. Their access to this space is enabled by their access to capital parallel to that of a European tourist, with money and time to spend on explicitly experiential leisure consumption. Their presence in these hotels, however, is the result of a choice to participate in and practice leisure

consumption that fits into geographies more aligned with elite, 'foreign' tourists rather than with locally resident Moroccans.

Image 24. Poolside restaurant inside a hotel complex, Marrakech

Tourist lodging in Morocco are one example of parallel facilities for those with more to invest in their leisure consumption and those with less. The distinction between facilities also follows patterns of information dispersal – how a visitor finds out about the available lodging – and standards of privacy and quality that relate to capital. At one end of the spectrum, many families will offer rooms in their homes to travelers, or apartments that are available for short-term rental, locatable through face-to-face contact with a local agent. Agents range from estate brokers with a storefront or website to men on side of the road leading into the city, dangling keys to passing cars as a sign that they represent places for rent. At the other end of the spectrum are hotel complexes that are usually booked online or through travel agencies abroad, and oriented towards clientele who access these channels of information. Thus, as much as this system is about flows of capital, it is also about the place of flows of information, how information is presented and who is able to perceive it.

DV consumption of luxury or package holiday hotels is highly aligned with practices of foreign visitors in Morocco, as a way of enjoying the place through a controlled and comfortable environment. This practice first came to my attention the case of Lamia and Michel. Lamia appeared in the previous chapter as the member of family A whose interactions demonstrate an alternate dynamic of efforts by DVs to *pass* as being-Moroccan (6.8). She and her husband and daughter visit Marrakech so often, always staying in the same hotel, that they are recognized and acknowledged as regulars by the hotel staff. They make full use of the services the hotel offers, eating meals at the internal restaurant, using the swimming pool daily, and registering their daughter for children's activities provided by dedicated hotel staff. In all, they can spend the majority of each day within the walls of the hotel complex. One of their stated motivations for this is keeping their daughter entertained and comfortable – not overexposing her to the heat of Marrakech – and taking advantage of the hotel's childcare for their own relaxation. In essence, the hotel interior provides a controlled environment for her to play, in comparison to trying to keep track of their daughter on busy streets outside. In general, a *de facto* segregation emerges from the economically infeasible prices set for use of the hotel and its services for many resident Moroccans. As such, DVs become privileged tourists, in comparison to their resident families, through their access to these spaces.

In fact, package tours to Marrakech that include lodging at these hotels are often amongst the cheaper options available through French travel vendors. One French couple I met, Ahmed, originally from Casablanca, and his Algerian-origin wife attested that their choice of holiday to Marrakech had been made according to options on a low-cost, last minute website; Marrakech was the best deal when they could take their holiday (1 June 2008). Through practices like these, DVs become touristic by choosing to visit Morocco as a low-cost destination for leisure rather than a destination exclusively for family *attachment*.

The decision to have a 'vacation' in Morocco separately from family was usually described through logistical concerns. Of the couples I met, the two spouses often had families in separate regions, which necessitated choosing which family to join on the annual holiday, when they were able to go. Going to

Marrakech became a neutral option, that corresponded to the desire to visit Morocco without forcing a choice between families, and could be done at a lower cost. For others it was a division of leisure time between an allotment for family visits and an allotment for personal leisure – that coincidentally took place in Marrakech, not far from their families. Even in these cases, the primary concern was often logistical, through calculations of the time, energy, and money involved in traveling.

The decision to go to Marrakech was, however, sometimes connected to the burden of *attachment* that would need to be respected by visiting a familial home. Rabia, whose family is from Ouarzazate and her husband's from Essaouira, stated her position about the logistics of her visit in terms of having a 'real' vacation:

7.3.3.a. Interview extract: A real vacation

Rabia, Marrakech, 13 June 2008, 45sec		
1	LW	parfois, il y des:: (.) la pression, pour aller en famille, tout les années pour euh:= sometimes, there are some:: (.) pressure, to go with the family, every year for uh:=
2	R	ouais yeah
3	LW	=rentrer (.4) à la maison familiale- =returning (.) to the family house-
4	R	non nous=moi il y a aucune pression <de le dire>, que ça c-, là ça fait: ça faisait peut-être=**deux=ans** que j'avais y pas été, no us=me there's no pressure <to say it>, that that i-, now it's been: it had been maybe=**two=years** that I hadn't gone
5	LW	mmm (1.0) ((R sucks her lip))
6	R	fa- peut-être deux a:::ns que=j'avais=y=pas=été='ce=que=j'étais **enceinte** ma- maybe two ye::ars that=I=hadn't=gone=cause=I was **pregnant**
7	LW	mmm
8	R	eh euh:: en fait, c'est plus de raison **moyens**, (.) parce=que dès qu'on::: (.) comment je t'explique/ on a- on a- on a acheté un pavillon en- en France, (.5) et euh::: et du coup on avait pas beaucoup de sous de côté, ah uh:: in fact, it's more because of **means**, (.) cause as soon as we:: (.) how to explain this/ we h- we h- we bought a house in- in France, (.) and uh::: and suddenly we didn't have a lot of cash put aside,
9	LW	°ouais° °yeah°

10	R	eh euh::: (.4) et en fait eh/ comme j'ét- donc j'ét- j'étais:: eh le fait que j'étais=enceinte=et=tout=ça, mais dès qu'on a l'opportunité qu'on prenne des vols pas chers, et=t't=ça, on part en **générale**, c'est- on aime bien euh:m (.) quand on est en vacances, **rester** en vacances/ parce=que=quand=on vient dans le cercle familial, (.3) bah c'est ce fa- c'est pas trop des vacances,=quoi/ on-on est obligé de **suivre** et tout **ça** et eh (.7 .h) et euh:: ouais, quoi/ donc euh: (.) ah uh::: (.4) and in fact eh/ like I wa- so I wa- I was:: ah the fact that I=was=pregnant=and=all=that, but as soon as we had an opportunity to get cheap flights, and=all=that, we **generally** go, it's- we really like uh:m (.) when we are on vacation, to **stay** on vacation/ cause=when=we come in the family circle, (.3) well it's it ma- it's not really vacation,=you=know/ we-we are obligated to **follow** and all **that** and ah (.7 .h) and uh:: yeah, you=know/ so uh: (.)
11	LW	mm
12	R	ouais=par exemple au moi de septembre on va peut-être aller euh chez s- chez **lui** chez sa **famille**,=il=y=aura toutes ces parents et tout ça, (.3) donc euh: (.4) on pourra peut-être pas aller=à=la **piscine**, parce=que=on=doit=rester en **famille**, et des choses comme ça. (.) donc=là=c'est=vraiment les va**cances**, faire ce qu'on veut::, eh: sans eh la famille derrière pour lui dire- nous on aime bien êt:re (.6) faire ce qu'on veut eh: avec nos enfants et tout ça, tout ça quoi. yeah=for example in September we will maybe go uh to hi- to **his** place to his **family**,=there=will=be all the elders and all that, (.3) so uh: (.4) we wouldn't maybe be able to=go=to=the **pool**, cause=we've=got=to=stay with the **family**, and things like that. (.) so=now=it's=really the va**cation**, doing what we wan::t, ah: without eh the family behind to tell him- us we really like bei:ng (.6) doing what we want ah: with our children and all that, all that you=know.

Rabia has chosen to visit Marrakech this time with her husband and son because it is the most feasible way for them to have a relaxing vacation, both in terms of activities and economically (turns 8-10). Elsewhere in this interview, she described how staying in Marrakech was both cheaper and easier to access than the travel necessary to get her family to Ouarzazate or Essaouira – both of which necessitate passing through Marrakech. She has scheduled time in her future holidays to fulfill family obligations (turn 12), so staying in Marrakech for a short holiday does not detract from her *attachment* to Morocco. This visit functions as a way to ground herself and her children as 'Moroccan', to maintain their 'point of reference,' even if it is not a visit to her hometown (5.5.3.a). Yet for other couples, going only to Marrakech did not satisfy the need to go to 'Morocco'; Marrakech was an alternate holiday they took for the purpose of relaxation, where the city itself is home-like but not 'home'. Many of those contacted during their visits to

Marrakech had plans, like Rabia's, to visit their familial homes at some point during that holiday or as a separate trip that year.

These artifacts and anecdotes of practice describe how a 'real' vacation congeals around an idea of 'real' relaxation. The 'real' vacation is something DVs seek whether they make a separate trip to Marrakech or stay in their family homes. Activities that DVs did in Marrakech have parallels to activities they pursued in their hometowns, in forms of leisure like frequenting pools, beaches, and other water sources; going to central shopping areas; eating in public places; or seeking bodily decoration or pampering. Visiting Marrakech reflects an peak of these widely practiced leisure consumption activities, in that this visit is often forcibly and completely insulated from family – like Sanae at the opening of this section (7.3.1) who stays in Marrakech despite messages from her family to visit them in the north.

7.3.4. Cheap beauty: 'Moroccan' touristic consumption in service encounters

Image 25. Eyebrow waxing, Marrakech

While in Marrakech, Rabia also took advantage of her free time to visit a local salon. She was not the only DV who told me about or whom I accompanied

at the salon. In Marrakech and at 'home,' with their economic capital ready to be spent, DV women are frequent and indulgent customers in beauty salons in Morocco, fulfilling their (touristic) leisure for physical transformation at a bargain price.

While generally going to a salon is not 'touristic', the way this activity is approached links it to other forms of touristic leisure DVs practice in Morocco. My fieldnotes are dotted with visits to salons throughout the summer, in different locations and with different women:

7.3.4.a. Fieldnote summary: Salons

> – 17 March: Last minute before leaving, Yasmine A., Saliha and their Algerian friend stop at a salon on the way back to the hotel and on to the airport. Yasmine gets a blow-dry and the other two get manicures; the stylist has to call a friend in to help with the volume of customers (Image 25).
> – 27 May: After finishing the interview, I go with Fouzia and two of her friends to have their hair blow-dried before they depart for the airport. Fouzia complains because her stylist repeatedly interrupts to answer his phone, and they are in a hurry (Image 26).
> – 2 June: during their week-long visit in Marrakech Yasmine A. takes her French friend to the salon for epilation, then returns after her friend leaves for a blow-dry.
> – 14 June: 'Rabia apparently spent 4 hrs at a salon the day before, getting her hair colored, shampooed and cut, also manicure (& pedicure?) and epilation. 2 years ago this cost 400 (€40), now it was 1040 (€104). They have separate prices for each individual service and tally them up at the end.'
> – 16 July: Shortly after arriving in Tangier and cleaning out the house, Souad B. expresses an interest in getting her hair done. She arranges with her husband to occupy the kids while she and her sister Malika B. go to a salon Malika knows and find there to be a wait. While waiting, Malika finds another bigger salon up the street and puts us on the list for pedicures. While waiting, Souad's daughter returns; she sits and watches her mother get her hair done, then goes back to her father who is circling in the car when we go up the street for our pedicures.
> – 22 July: during my visit with (veiled) Amina in Al Hoceima, we stop in to have her hair blow-dried, which becomes a communication task, as none of the women in the busy salon seem to speak Tarifit and she is struggling with *derija*.
> – 7 August: Sanae and I stop into the salon around 9pm one night for services, shortly before her return to Belgium (6.7.a).

Image 26. Three Dutch students getting their hair blow-dried before going back to the Netherlands. 27 May 2008, Marrakech.

In her book, *Three Faces of Beauty*, Susan Ossman (2002) argues that beauty salons in Paris, Casablanca, and Cairo locally enact styles that refer to other places as much as to the immediate surroundings, transforming clients into something beautiful in a multiplicity of standards. The salons she describes in Casablanca become a source for beauty knowledge and advice, as well as a temporary community where women from a neighborhood might see each other and interact. Salons become actors in creating leisure consumption through the body, converting economic capital to physical capital (Shilling 2003). This physical capital enters into embodimentality: it is both visually perceived as beauty that stays temporarily on the body, and affectively felt through the experience of being touched and caressed in the process of beautification.

Collectively, the above vignettes describe some of the aspects of this practice that makes it part of the diasporic holiday. Friends on holiday together make it one of the activities on their itinerary, as an embodied sign of the leisure capital they acquire before returning home. Busy mothers entrust fathers with childcare so they can spend a larger block of time on self-indulgent beauty.

Furthermore, this practice is a service encounter, where DV women can exercise economic autonomy in *place*, to spend their discretionary capital on a frivolous but fun service.

Some of the examples above refer directly or indirectly to the way this interaction reflects the dynamics of service encounters. In one case, the Dutch DV Fouzia gets annoyed with her stylist for delaying her service by answering his phone. She was vocal about her annoyance, particularly because her friends were both finished ahead of her, and they were all due to catch a bus to the airport soon after. Having her hair blow-dried was clearly a service that she expected to be delivered within a limited amount of time, according to her own schedule. This kind of interaction epitomizes how service encounters tend to be hierarchically structured, so that the client's expectations of speed and quality of service eclipse the provider's claims to autonomy of action. It also speaks to the transient nature of these encounters: if Fouzia was a regular, loyal customer, she might tolerate a delay as part of her relationship with a particular stylist. In light of the fact that this was her first, and most probably last, visit to this salon, her priorities are to accomplish the activity in a limited amount of time, rather than build a rapport with the stylist.

Simply being a service encounter does not make this activity 'touristic'. The combination of 'servility' and 'savings' gained by having traveled elsewhere renders it 'touristic'. Having one's hair blow-dried in Morocco costs between 25 and 50 dirham (approximately 2.50 to 5 Euro), depending on the quality of salon and the length of one's hair. In Europe, the same service is at least 10 Euro, if one hires a girl from the neighborhood to do it at home; going to a full-service salon would be still more. The price differences are often referred to in conversations about going to the salon, and becomes an impetus to buy services because they are a bargain at one-third or one-quarter the European prices. Rabia's comment (in 7.3.4.a, 14 June) about the price she paid for the full gamut of services in Marrakech speaks to her own expectations of low cost. She remembers paying 'about 40 Euro for everything,' but instead she paid 104 Euro, reflecting the rising cost of living in Morocco (particularly in Marrakech). Still, she is willing to pay for those services in Morocco, but not in France; she later bought a blow-dryer (cheap, at 280 dirham) to bring back to France for her personal use.

Although these women do not seem to intentionally display their labor capital in this kind of consumption, it is inevitably on display. Because they see these services as bargain-priced, they partake to the point of extravagance, getting multiple services in one visit, and sometimes multiple visits in the course of one holiday. Yet for local women these services are not bargain-priced, and must be budgeted in the same way DV women budget them in Europe. Through this practice, DVs become inadvertently linked to being elite consumers who show off their wealth in their seemingly careless spending.

As such, DV women are not using Moroccan salons necessarily as Ossman portrays them, as sites of expertise on beauty. Instead, beauty salons in Morocco are a stop on their holiday itinerary, each one interchangeable for another. They usually do not stay long enough or return enough times to develop a relationship with the staff. Instead of being about exchange of beauty knowledges, going to the salon becomes both a way of spending one's time in leisure pursuits and a means to gather souvenirs, through embodimentality, in preparation for return to the real world.

7.3.5. Transforming bodies: Seeking the sun

7.3.5.a. Interview extract: Why Marrakech?

Mohammed and Fouzia, Marrakech, 27 May 2008, 20sec		
1	LW	why Marrakech? (2.8)
2	M	why not? [hhehehehe .he=
3	LW	[ahehehehe .hheh
4	M	=why Marrakech.(1.1) Marrekech eh it's a nice city, (.) a lot of::(.5) the group- a lot of eh: members of the group, (.) have never been in Marrakech so it was now the:=
5	LW	mm
6	M	=the **chance** to be here, (.3) and (.3) we thought why not? (1.4) it's a nice city, a lot of: culture, (1.2) and the: (.4) and the **sun**'s here

Seeking the sun is a touristic activity, a classic genre of what motivates leisure travellers to depart. As Mohammed states, the sun was a motivator for him and his fellow students to choose Marrakech as a destination, among any number of destinations that could be interesting to them. Elsewhere in this interview, Mohammed discussed how this trip was their 'fun' trip of the year, in contrast to the

'serious' trip organized around educative goals. Sun was apparently a decisive part of that 'fun' atmosphere.

'Seeking the sun' rings with images of escape from cold, wet weather to a location of beatific, shimmering calm. In a material sense, sun interacts with bodies in specific ways: sun heats, making bodies sweat, and/or try to cool themselves; and sun shines, making skin change color following its pigmentation, from light to dark, dark to darker, or pale to red. These material changes are part of the ways that tourists embody 'doing tourism', through embodimentality in assemblage with the sun. The ways they do this reflects their autonomy to spend their earned labor capital for embodied leisure capital, in that they are not obligated to withstand the sun in order to survive but choose to partake of it as a form of leisure consumption.

Recognizing that the sun has material effects on the body is central to reflecting on why the sun is generally seen as dangerous in Morocco. Much informal health advice is focused on maintaining a balanced body temperature, not to become too hot or too cold or fluctuate too quickly between the two. I was told, for example, to avoid sitting too long in the sun, because it causes dizziness, headaches or worse. The sun is also blamed for causing the flu, because sitting outside and overheating is too quickly reversed by coming inside to the cold. Yet for visitors from colder climates, like Mohammed and his group, this kind of fluctuation is transposed to a broader timescale: one wants to absorb as much sun as possible in the warm months in order to survive the colder ones.

Inasmuch as DVs tend to seek the sun, motivations behind sunbathing are complicated by contrasting ideologies of tanned skin in Morocco. Dyer (1997, 49) comments on tanning as a phenomenon specific to (white) women of the twentieth century, for whom tanning comes to symbolize leisure and travel Previously, he claims (ibid, 49-50), tanning was associated with outdoor labour activity, making it a symbol of the inverse of (white) leisure, unrelenting work in a harsh sun. This resonates to some extent in Morocco, but not universally. Resident Moroccans do choose to tan, but this choice is regionally specific, and linked with ideas of social class.

Many DVs encounter this ideological difference in the most direct way, as a difference in preference between themselves and the resident Moroccans they interact with on a daily basis. Jamila B. reported as much in these comments:

7.3.5.b. Interview extract: They don't go to the beach

Jamila, Den Haag, 12 April 2008, 50sec		
1	LW	do you go with them ((resident family)) (.) to the beach? or
2	J	did we em:: (.4) no. (2.0) [**they don't go** to the beach (.8) the family::/ our family. don't go to the beach
3	LW	[so
4	LW	are they older? or:: like (.) your age
5	J	they **don't like it,** they um:: (.8) uh:: (.6) they are afraid of the sun/ (.) they like to be uh:[: **white skin.**
6	LW	[wh- yea-
7	LW	mmhmm
8	J	and that's the reason they don't like the beach/ and **we** like (.) make ahehhhe.h a brown skin, so
9	LW	yeah, that's- this is something everybody says
10	J	yeah?
11	LW	in Morocco they're always trying to make themselve[s whiter
12	J	[makes white yeah, and we hhehehe return from the beach we are f- we re- ((high pitch)) ohh what did you **do**! hhahahaha

Jamila's attitude was echoed by every other participant who discussed this topic (see also 6.4.1.b). Between DVs and resident Moroccans, there is a mutual lack of comprehension about the desire to tan or to whiten. Other DVs commented that they needed to be tan to look their best at a wedding, or to impress their colleagues at work, when they return, with the depth of their tan. Like the beauty services acquired at the salon, an element of physical capital inscribed on the body acts like a souvenir as proof of leisure, but in a different style than the parallel practice in Morocco.

The sun can also have negative effects for DVs. Like in the story of Sanae and I trying to escape the heat in Marrakech at the beginning of this section (7.3.1), DVs suffer in heat to which their bodies are unaccustomed. Because of their autonomous economic mobility, however, they have ample means to escape it.

7.3.5.c. Fieldnote summary: Effects of heat

> – 7 August 2008: lunch in Marrakech with a family – husband, wife, two children, and the husband's younger sister – from the Netherlands, just before they departed for the airport. We sat at an inexpensive restaurant on the main square, Djemaa el Fna, in the middle of a hot summer day. While the two parents ate, and fed their two children, the younger sister complained throughout the meal of the heat: she couldn't eat anything heavier than a salad,

> and barely that. Instead, she said, she would get a sandwich in the air conditioning at the airport.
> – 10 August 2008: Out with the group from Belgium, three guys and Naima, plus her younger sister with us today. The guys want to walk through the souk, even though it's the middle of the day and blisteringly hot, so Naima is dragging her feet and trying to entice them to go to a pool instead. She keeps coming up to me and practicing her French, complaining that she only wants to swim, to cool off, to tan.

Naima's desires to return to the pool fit directly into touristic practices of enjoying the sun. Tanning practices play out in a dance between heating and cooling the body – enjoying the heat of the sun alternately with the cool of water. For many DVs this dynamic is the only way to survive the heat of Moroccan summers. While sitting by a hotel pool in Fes (28 July 2008), Mounir commented that he couldn't imagine surviving the heat without going to a pool. Part of his privileged position, in being on holiday, is that he is not obligated to labor in that weather, as are many resident Moroccans. In being a leisure consumer, he can choose to imbibe of heat by sitting in the sun, because he has the option of cooling off by jumping in the water, or at its extreme by returning to France. In that they are able to make the choices between sun and snow, or to choose to tan their skin as a sign of leisure consumption, DVs practice their visits to Morocco touristically. They have access to capital which enables them to move in and out of the sun, absorbing what their bodies want and escaping when their bodies are uncomfortable. Hence, it is no surprise that the practice of tanning is a point of intense distinction between DVs and resident Moroccans: as a reflection of their leisure and class, absorbing the sun for pleasure represents the difference between visiting Morocco and living there.

7.3.6. Touristic but Moroccan

On the one hand, as demonstrated above, much of what DVs seek during their visits is the leisure and relaxation of touristic consumption. On the other hand, their awareness of the conditions of life in Morocco – of the practices, traditions and structures of being a 'real' Moroccan – informs their consumption to a certain extent. Moments when DVs are 'being-tourists', visiting places that are distant from their own hometowns in order to experience and consume the place, are moments where they make use of multiple practices and knowledges to be both tourists and 'real' Moroccans.

The staged authenticity (MacCannell 1973) of an intensely touristed city like Marrakech becomes more noticeable to those with a connection to the place, but it can be accepted in order to enjoy leisure in that environment, insulated by distance from *attachment*. DVs are aware of their positioning in this environment in a 'post-tourist' sense (Urry 1990). They know themselves to be consuming an 'authentic Morocco' presented for foreign tourists (Cohen 1988; Olsen 2002; Wagner 2004) that has a complex relationship to the 'real Morocco' they know as *descendants* – but they still choose to consume it.

Even as touristic consumers, choosing forms of consumption that are aligned with 'being-European', DVs are aware of how to 'be-Moroccan', and how Marrakech compares to other places in Morocco in terms of 'Moroccanness':

7.3.6.a. Interview extract: Touristic Marrakech

Rachid and Zakia, Marrakech, 26 May 2008, 3m35		
1	LW	la visite à Marrakech/ ça- c'est: vraiment **touristique**? ou:: the visit to Marrakech/ it- it's: really **touristic**? or::
2	R	bah Marrakech ouais c'est- (.) en fait si=vous=voulez pour **nous** qui sommes eh d'origine marocaine .hh well Marrakech yeah it's- (.) in fact if=you=want for **us** who are eh: of Moroccan origin .hh
3	LW	ouais yeah
4	R	Marrakech je=trouve c'est un peu **trop** touristique. (.6) bah=ce=que je vois au niveau des commerçants de **trucs** i::ls nous allument **trop** (.3) et:::a::=alors que dans les autres villes, eh: (.6) dans les autres villes, eh bon/ il=y=a- il=y=a le côté touristique, m:ais malgré tout eh (1.2) ce- c'est pas aussi cher qu'ici quoi/ toute est chère ici/ alors eh:: les commerçants, ils abusent trop ici je=trouve. .h ils ont::euh::: on a bien-=euh: ils font bien comprendre que Marrakech, (1.4) à la limite c'est plus pour les:: pour les européens de pûr aux souches, (.) que pour nous, quoi. Marrakech I=find it's a little **too** touristic. (.6) well=what=I see in terms of vendors of **things** the::y take advantage of us **too** much (.3) and:::e::=even though in other cities, eh: (.6) in other cities, eh well/ there's=a- there's=a touristic side, bu:t despite that eh (1.2) it- it's not as expensive as here yeah/ everything is expensive here/ so eh:: th vendors, they are too abusive here I=think. .h they have::uh::: we have to-=uh: they make it clear that Marrakech, (1.4) at most it's more for the:: for the Europeans of pure roots, (.) than for us, yeah.
5	LW	mmm

6	R	parce=que:::eh:: on l'entend enh: eux ce qu'ils les intéressent, c'est surtout l'argent, quoi. c'est une ville euh:: vraiment économique, °quoi°. après le reste, euh:: c'est **beau**! c'est **jolie**, mais (.7) mais moi ça m'agace un peu parce=que moi qui connais bien le Maroc, (1.4) ça- ça m'agace un peu d'arriver là et de payer:/ trois voir quatre fois plus chère de=ce=que=je payerais ailleurs, quoi.
		cause:::eh:: we understand enh: them what interests them, it's money above all, you=know. it's a city uh:: really about business, °yeah°. after all, uh:: it's **beautiful**! it's **pretty**, but (.7) but for me it's a little irritating cause me who knows Morocco well (1.4) it- it's a little irritating to arrive here and pay:/ three or four times more=than=what=I pay elsewhere, you=know.
7	LW	ouais/ ouais. quand on connais déjà les::- [les prix, c'est
		yeah/ yeah. when one knows already the::- [the prices, it's
8	R	[bah ouais, moi je connais déjà:, je vien ici eh: si souvent, je me considère pas- (.4) pas comme un tour**iste** quoi.
		[well yeah, me I know already:, I come here eh: so often, I don't think of myself- (.4) not as a **tour**ist, you=know
9	LW	mm
		(1.0)
10	R	je=me=considère pas comme un tour**iste**, mais eux nous considèrent comme des touristes encore.
		I=don't=think of myself as a **tour**ist, but they think of use as tourists still.
11	LW	bon- eh- (.3) dans c'est qu'a- donc c'est- c'est- c'est quoi qui vous eh: **attire** (.3) de revenir-
		well- eh- (.3) in that's but a- so it's- it's- what is it that **pulls** (.3) you to come back
12	R	bah c'est quand-même/ que c'est jolie, quoi. °il=y=a° des beaux endroits, de beaux hôtels, il ya du soleil, (.) des eh- pas mal des choses à faire, quoi. (.7) non, c'est quand-même une belle ville ((child coughing)) (2.4) c'est quand-même une belle ville, malgré tout, (.3) boh: en fait c'est passe outre, tous ces: .hhh (.4) tous ces petits::- tous ces petits détailles, quoi/ ça °<ça fait>° puis après, quand on: quand on connaît un peu finalement/ ça fait un peu moin à voir où::::=on repère les endroits, on repère les choses/ (1.9) bah c'est quand-même **une belle ville**, Marrakech/ c'est **complet** comme ville/ il manque que la mer, mais sinon c'est pas mal,
		well it's still/ it's that it's pretty, you=know. °there=are° pretty places, pretty hotels, there's the sun, (.) some eh- a good many things to do, you=know. (.7) no, it's still a nice city ((child coughing)) (2.4) it's still a nice city, despite everything, (.3) well: in fact it's beyond, all these: .hhh (.4) all these little::- all these little details, you=know/ it °<it makes>° then after, when you: when you know a little in the end/ it makes a little less to do with::::=you figure out places, you figure things out/ (1.9) well it's still **a beautiful city**, Marrakech/ it's **complete** as a city/ it's only missing the sea, but still it's not bad
13		(1.1)

((discussion about artificial beaches in Marrakech and Fes; 7 turns excised))

14	R	[ça a raté? ah bon, (.) ah je=ne sais pas. Fès c'est pas mal, mais ça reste au Fès, ce qui est bien c'est=que=ça reste quand-même une eh- (1.3) une ville eh vraiment- (.8) **typiquement marocaine** quoi. (.) c'est- moi je trouve que Fès c'est pas mal. (.8) eh:: c'est le **vrai Maroc** Fès. (.) Marrakech pour moi c'est pas le vrai du Maroc,
		[that failed? oh well, (.) ah I=don't know. Fes isn't bad, but it stays in Fes, what's good is=that=it stays still a eh- (1.3) a city eh really- (.8) **typically Moroccan** you=know. (.) it's- me I find that Fes is not bad. (.8) eh:: it's the **real Morocco** Fes. (.) Marrakech for me it's not really Morocco.
15	LW	Marrakech devient plus:: [eh: européan? eh
		Marrakech is becoming more:: [eh European? eh
16	R	[ouais c'est plus euh: comme on disait, quand on est arrivé, on a même pas l'impression d'être au Maroc, °quoi°
		[yeah it's not anymore euh: like we said, when we arrived, we didn't have the feeling of being in Morocco, °you=know°
17	LW	ah ouais?
		oh yeah?
18	R	ouais!
		yeah!
19	Z	ouais, ça reste [xxx
		yeah it remains [xxx
20	R	[on n'a pas trop l'impression d'être au Maroc
		[we didn't have the feeling of being in Morocco
21	LW	c'est::- pourquoi- c'était à l'aéroport, ou bien hheheheh
		it's::= why- it was at the airport, or really hheheheh
22	Z	non c'est c'[est en fait xx on arrive
		no it's it['s in fact xx we arrive
23	R	[bah m-(.) si si on arrive là/ on a l'impression d'être héberger=au=station **balnéaire**, quoi/ c'est pas:: (1.7) pourtant ouais
		[well m-(.) yeah no we made it here/ you get the feeling of staying=at=a=**seaside** hotel, you=know/ it's not:: (1.7) but still yeah

((child speaks, R addresses child and wife; 5 turns excised))

24	LW	c'est vrai, il y a des seins partout! c'est (.4)[ahahhahah
		it's true, there are breasts everywhere! it's (.4) [ahahhahah
25	Z	[mhenhen henhhh c'est impressionant eh! [xxx non enh:
		[mhenhen henhhh
		it's impressive eh! [xxx no enh:
26	R	[bah ouais/ c'est Marrakech! c'est <nu> c'est pas vraiment le Maroc eh! tu vas n'importe où au Maroc, tu vois pas ça:
		[well yeah/ it's Marrakech! it's <nude>
		it's not really Morocco eh! you go anywhere in Morocco, you won't see tha:t

27	LW	ouais yeah
28	R	mais bon/ c'est pas grave, ça gêne pas, c'est bien! but well/ it's not bad, it's not annoying, it's good! (1.2)
29	R	ouais: c'est bien! bah c'est bien/ pou- dans le sens où: ça prouve que le pays évolue quand-même un peu, (.7) ce=qu'il faut, yeah: it's good! well it's good/ fo- in the sense that: it proves that this country is evolving a little after all, (.7) what's necessary,

Speaking poolside at the hotel complex where he, his wife and young son were spending a week, Rachid identifies a feeling about Marrakech that is 'not Moroccan'. He sees Marrakech as a city for Europeans who are not also Moroccan, in that for those of Moroccan origin it is too touristic (turns 2-4). He links his feeling to certain practices and actors that deviate from the 'real' Morocco: first, to vendors who are only interested in money (turn 6), and eventually to the nude sunbathers who make him feel like he's at a seaside hotel (turns 23-26). His sense that inflated prices contribute to a sense of inauthentic interaction is reminiscent of Desforges' (2006) conclusions discussed in the previous chapter (6.6.1). Yet he appreciates some of the touristic aspects of Marrakech discussed in this chapter – its special places, nice hotels, and plenty of sun (turn 12). While contrasting Fes as 'typically Moroccan' (turn 14) with Marrakech, where both he and Zakia don't feel like they are in Morocco (turns 16-22), Rachid also expresses his appreciation that Morocco is 'evolving' (turn 29) in reference to the semi-nude sunbathers we were looking at by the hotel pool. In a single interaction, Rachid expresses dismay that Marrakech is not the 'real' Morocco while enjoying the aspects that make it 'inauthentic', like the insulation of the hotel complex from the public. His commentary on Marrakech and the 'real' Morocco is expressed through multiplicity that encompasses being aware of what another 'Morocco' is like while taking pleasure in the 'Morocco' that he can access as a diasporic visitor.

At times, DVs recognize how their bodies reproduce archetypal tourist bodies, reflecting the fluctuating nature of their embodimentality between 'tourist' and 'Moroccan'. As we strolled around the Marrakech souk (10 August 2008), Moustapha, Yunis, Hamid, and Naima were constantly chatting, joking, ridiculing each other, taking pictures and commenting on what they saw. A recurring topic in

their three-hour walking conversation related to how their bodies might be perceived by others. First Naima was teased for looking like a 'Belgian', then much later Yunis was chided for walking around all day looking like a 'tourist'. Moustapha intimated that the way he was dressed and the way he absorbed the environment by looking around and taking pictures resembled the classic, ridiculous tourist: 'uithangen, zwemmen, en uitgaan,' hanging out, swimming and going out.

They were all participating in these 'touristic' behaviors: posing for each other's pictures in a shop, marveling at architecture and merchandise in the souk. Yet they become aware of these practices as 'being-touristic' in relation to their 'Moroccan' bodies. Interspersed with such 'touristic' practices were moments where they were 'being-Moroccan', like Naima striking up a conversation with a shopkeeper in her heritage language, Tashelḥit; or Moustapha's attempts at negotiating for an antique horn and then for his Saharan outfit (6.6.3.c). Touristic consumption is an integral part of the holiday as a mode through which DVs find leisure, but it is undertaken in assemblage with other projects and practices of what DVs must do on holiday.

7.4. Gendered access: Touristic mobility and autonomy

7.4.1. Ways of escape: Amina and Simo

> *23 July 2008*
> *I'm leaving Al Hoceima very quickly after arriving, following Hind and Abdellatif who are driving down to Marrakech. I have invited Amina to accompany me there, but she can't – the possibility that she would have to travel back by herself complicates the prospect of having a companion for the way down. She and I are saying goodbye at the bottom of the stairs, with my backpack strapped on ready to depart, and her brother Simo enters the house. It's the first time I've seen him in the three days I stayed there, since he seems to be always either sleeping or 'out' somewhere, never materializing for meals or visiting grandparents. We say hello and goodbye in one breath as I navigate down the stairs with my bag and he starts climbing. I ask if he is going to make that trip he talked about last year, to take a car with his friends and get a bit further away from Hoceima than a day's drive, and he says yes, he and his cousin are planning a week-long tour, to begin any day now. His sister stops abruptly on the stairs, saying 'What?' as more of a statement than a question, with a serious look on her face. He immediately changes the subject, and asks her for the keys to the upstairs room so he can go shower. After he climbs the stairs, she tells me this is the first she has heard of his plans; she doesn't think her parents know, nor does she think they will approve. But he, being a boy, will get to do what he wants, and she, as his older sister, will have to accommodate whatever inconvenience he might cause.*

This fieldwork narrative of Amina and her brother Simo is a vignette of being on holiday in one's hometown. For most DVs going 'home' to Morocco normally means going to the diasporic house – the home built by one's parents or a spouse's parents (5.4.3) – not to Marrakech or some other city distant from the family. Being close to family, however, does not necessarily disperse the desire for leisure consumption. The activities both siblings pursued during the day while I was there were much like those reported in Marrakech – 'going out, swimming, hanging out' – but in a more familiar and familial setting. For these siblings, going out in Al Hoceima often meant meeting or discovering their cousins hanging out in the same places, as much as it might mean finding friends they know from the Netherlands or other DVs they know from Morocco who return every year on the same holiday pattern. Those activities are contrasted with their obligatory family engagements, like visiting older relatives who are still resident in Morocco. Their participation in these different kinds of activities – *attachment* to family versus *insha'allah* leisure – emerges through practices of autonomy, often inflected by gender, manifest in the extent to which DVs are free to move around Morocco.

Amina and Simo's interaction demonstrates part of this gendered inflection in practices of autonomy during the holiday in that Amina, the eldest sibling of five, finds herself superseded in travel plans by Simo, the second youngest. Whereas she was very tempted at the idea of traveling to Marrakech, she was not comfortable with the idea of returning on a bus by herself. Her brother, on the other hand, seemed to be anticipating a spontaneous car trip with his friends, one of the common ways I witnessed DV men exercising their autonomy in Morocco. Amina's prospect of a trip to Marrakech was impossible from any angle: even if she had a companion with whom to return, her parents would likely have objected to her traveling far from the diasporic household, to a destination unfamiliar to them, without a male escort. As a man, even as one still resident in his parents' household, Simo is able to be more autonomous as demonstrated by his *insha'allah* group trip, but also through his daily activities at the house. I observed during this visit, and a previous one in 2007, that Simo was rarely at home, and difficult to locate even when he was needed or expected. In one instance, one evening Amina left me at home and went with her parents to visit her grandparents in a

neighboring town. Simo was expected to accompany them, but never appeared. As far as I know, no issue was made of this behavior. His preference for *insha'allah* experiences over *attachment* was repeatedly made clear through his practices of being on holiday.

Dynamics that create an association between daughters and the home, family, and care are not at all uncommon (Blunt 2005; Conradson 2003; Davidson *et al*. 2005; McDowell 1999). This relationship is interwoven in migration contexts, as daughters become multilingual caregivers and translators (Dabène and Moore 1995). In this case, conservative Muslim values reflecting the honor and shame of a family through its daughters (Abu-Lughod 1986, Aitchison *et al*. 2007; Freeman 2005) add to the intensity of pressure on women to be attached and less autonomous. Traveling on holiday to a space of 'home' creates an intersection between such gendered geographies of responsibility and moral propriety, and leisure geographies of pleasure and boredom. 'Going out' to any degree – out of the house, out of the town, out of the region – becomes a gendered practice demonstrating one's degree of autonomy through escape from the 'boredom' entrenched at home.

The following recountings of a typical day or normal activities in Morocco reflect the dominant trend of what I witnessed as a participant observer with DVs staying at the family home. Collectively, the stories illustrate tendencies about spending time with family in contrast to spending time 'out'. While everyone I spoke with professed the need or desire to see their families, the duration and frequency of family time, and the distance travelled away from home or from one's parents varied significantly. Capacities, directions, and distances to which one can 'go out' are linked with constraints like stage of life (in school/out of school, unmarried/married), religious interpretation (conservative/liberal), and geographical location (rural/urban, central/coastal). Gender, however was more prominent than any other dimension in relation to a DV's autonomy while on holiday.

7.4.2. A normal day: Between family and insha'allah *autonomy*

7.4.2.a. Fieldnote extract: Finding DVs at McDonald's, 28 July 2008

> starting at McDo - now I believe what the taxi driver said, they really are ALL at McDonalds. the parking lot is more than half their cars...

> I go with group of 4 guys in 2 French cars (3 Moroccan, 1 Algerian) from McDo to the pool where they are supposed to meet another friend: Zalagh Parc Palace. They do not know the way, only that it's near Marjane.
> ...
> every year they come here on *circuit*: Mounir says staying a few days with family at most, but the rest of the time moving around to different places where they have a friend with a house or a family. their fes friend is not there at the moment, so they are looking for an apartment to rent. All come from the same place in france, but not the same place in Morocco – one not even from Morocco.
> Mounir also came in March this year by plane, to spend a week vacation in Marrakech. He's planning to go again to marrakech in a few days...
> arriving at the hotel (following my directions) they change into swim clothes by the car. lots and lots of foreign plates here, BE, NL, FR and occasional D or E[29].
> inside, the server at the bar says 80% *kharij*. I believe him. 100 dh to get in and 25 dh for a can of coke – these are prices only europeans would be foolish enough to pay.
> I spent 30-45 mins sitting with the boys themselves, chatting intermittently with Mounir about his plans and habits in travel...
> stuck around for another hour after that, watching different tables of people... they are really enjoying themselves – sun, freedom, beverages, friends. Mens bodies have a more well-fed look, not like the skinny muscular bodies I remember from other beaches, other pools. womens bodies are more displayed, splayed, tanned, toned.

It is entirely predictable that I would find Mounir, or someone like him, at McDonald's or by the hotel pool because they are both places enveloped by the paths that DVs make in and around Morocco. This day was my only interaction with Mounir and his friends. I met them at McDonald's in Fes, after following the advice of a number of resident Moroccans that it is the place where DVs go. Once before, in May, I had hung around that McDonald's and found it half empty, but all local clientele. At this moment, near the end of July, it was packed full and, as I noted, the parking lot showed a mass of DV cars with European number plates. Mounir and his friends were supposed to meet a friend at a hotel pool, but they didn't know exactly where it was – somewhere near the Marjane, the Moroccan equivalent of a Walmart or Asda. With my knowledge of directions around Fes, I jumped in the car with them.

In our conversation, Mounir discussed his travel habits in Morocco. As mentioned previously (5.5.2.a), he saw visiting Morocco as an annual necessity, but limits his visits with family in favor of moving around from city to city with friends. While I was sitting with them, Mounir was fielding calls trying to find an apartment

29. These letters refer to the new EU automotive plates, which indicate the country of origin – Belgium, Netherlands, France, Germany (Deutschland) and Spain (España).

for he and his friends to stay that night. The intense spontaneity of this kind of travel is enabled by adult DVs' independent access to capital, and their touristic consumption habits. In contrast to the discourses of *attachment* and obligation, I found that many DVs following Mounir's example in pursuit of *insha'allah* spontaneity, embodied leisure, and autonomy to the point that they could limit and control their engagement with family. Our serendipitous meeting, in fact, fits with the dynamics of *insha'allah*: at the moment when I am looking for a group to speak with, they are in search of directions to Marjane. The events of the day take shape through one's intentions to move around, as well as through pathways that open up.

The following interview excerpt corroborates Mounir's approach to leisure consumption. As young, relatively unburdened men (Naim had married shortly before this interview), neither Naim B nor Otman B is subject to familial or gender constraints. As their family homes are near recognized leisure spaces in the big city (Tangier) and a semi-rural countryside, along the northern coast near Tetouan, a typical day for each of them involves multiple forms of collective leisure consumption, reflective of their economic position as DVs in Morocco. Their geographical and gender positioning gives them access to beaches, nightclubs and swimming pools near them, but also movement around Morocco to other leisure sites.

7.4.2.b. Interview extract: Typical day I

Naim and Otman, Antwerp, 24 March 2008, 6m30		
1	LW	what do you do on a typical day/
2	N	[[in the summer eh? in the summer.
3	O	[[typical day- eh
4	LW	yeah, in the summer.
5	N	ok: we::: wake up (.4) about eleven **o'clock,** (2.0) we have some **breakfast,** most of the time outside it- out**side,** (.3) not- not at home. .hh because we all eh **meet,** all the **nephews,** (.) we meet all with each other/ and then we go to:: [tras-
6	LW	[wait nephews or cousins?
7	O	[[friends
8	N	[[it's same no?
((4 turns excised defining nephew/cousin in English))		

9	N	then we eh: (.3) you know **the cousins** who live in Tangiers/ because we have a lot of cousins you know, who lives in **Tetouan**
10	LW	hhhhehh[heh
11	O	[so: #(.) #then#- #then- the cousins from **Tangiers**, (.) then go to have some **breakfast**, and then um: we go- =then we decide if we go to- to-/ the **beach**, (.) or we go to the:: (.5) to- just to the swimming pool, (2.0) and then we go to that place. and then we have- most of the time it's=the=beach, because swimming pool costs a lot, (.) it's about hundred and fifty dirhams/
12	LW	really? (.) wullah ((I swear))! hhheheh
13	O	ennhhh
14	N	and we go to the- (.4) most of the time to the beach, and then we swim/ and swim/ (.5) and fff you know/ (.4) **sometimes** we rent a jetski, or (.3 .h) if someone tha- that we know has a jetski, then we go with him. by the jetski/ is phh (.) but every day (.4 .h) that's it, and then we go **home** (1.0) and we arrive at home (.4) abou:t eh five o'clock, (.8) then we **eat**, (.) we take a **shower**, (.) we rest a little bit/ and then we go outside.
15	LW	so whe- when- **we** is- is you and your
16	N	cousins, [yeah
17	LW	[yeah ok. it's usually- it's usually all the guys together/ ri[ght? eh ok. and for you/ is it similar?
18	N	[yeah
19	O	it's about the sam::e, so:: (.5) I'll tell you the **first week**, (. h) the first week is just for family, so (.5)=
20	LW	yeah
21	O	=every day we go eh: (.6 .h) eh::- at the evening I mean, we will see family, so/ #(.) that's eh::: pretty:: much an im- **important thing** for us, in our culture,
22	LW	yeah
23	O	um: then it's about the same so/ in the morning (.) oftor ((breakfast)), (.)
24	LW	yeah
25	O	then I go to the beach,#
26	LW	do=you- do=you eat breakfast at home too?
27	O	at home/ at home/ yeah yeah. then we go to the **beach**, (.) we- we **first** look up the:: the guys from the **neighborhood**, cause eh: the family um (.5) in Tetouan, (.) all lives together, this- (.) it's **one place**/ so uh: then we go look up the guys from the neighborhood, and then we go to the beach, (.) about (.9) until six in the (.4) **evening**, then we go- (.) come **back**, (.5 .h) same thing **sho:wehhher** =
28	N	eat
29	O	= we take a:: hhhehh .hh we take a::: a:: a little nap, and then (.) go to the# center of (1.4) Martil. [not Tetouan:, (.) just outside of the- Martil or- o- or: Rincon Ndiq.

30	LW	[mm. yeah Martil. yeah I know Martil yeah. and those **café**-
31	O	[[and those café-
32	LW	[[so it's like you go on the boardwalk there? or like the **cafés** that are::
33	O	eh:: first the boardwalk, and then eh #**cafés**[, at the other #side of town, it's the same thing/ Rincon/ ehheheh .hh=
34	LW	LW: [.hhh ahhahah
35	O	=so: (.6) that lasts about for **two weeks**#, and then/ (.) the plans come up. should we go to Fes, should we go eh:# to: to Rabat, (.) and then (.7) #for a few days we go out eh- **outside** of eh Tetouan or- (.6) #t-Tangier or some/
36	LW	to visit **them**? ((referring to Naim))
37	O	[[to visit them
38	N	[[yeah: (.) we go to: (.) [d-
39	O	[they do the same thing. (.) the beaches in Tetouan are (.) better than Tangier ahehehehe=
40	N	=yeah yea[h that's true (.) yeah
41	LW	[oh really, (.) ok .h hhheheheh
42	N	that's true
43	LW	but the pool in Tangier sounds like (.) ((whistle))
44	N	[[yeah but it's in a fancy hotel/ so that's not
45	O	[[yeah
46	LW	aww:: yeah.
47	N	you don't have-
48	LW	he- what kind of people do you see there/ is it other::/ like other Moroccan-/ ḫarij? or
49	N	yeah yeah yeah yeah, because they can pay it/ ah:, the people from Morocco who can pay that, they eh: (.4) you know (.5) th- they: (.3) they have a lot of money. [so/ [when we-
50	LW	[yeah
51	O	[the pool? I never went to a pool in hehehe=Morocco=hheh so
52	LW	really?
53	O	we have the beach, like eh: eh eh::
54	N	five minutes walk
55	O	rʿobaʿ sʿah ((quarter hour))
56	LW	yeah
57	O	fifteen minutes from:- from home, so/ (.5) no need to go to a pool hhheh
		(1.6)
58	N	so/ (.) and in the **evening**, (.6) you know- you also want to know what w[e do in the evening?
59	LW	[yeah! yeah, (.) yeah yeah

60	N	ok/ in the evening, then we go **outside**, and then- (.4) we go drink something like a milkshake or I dunno. someth- **orange** juice, or a **tea**, and then we go to eat **again**,
61		((LW and E laughing))
62	N	[[and then eh no no
63	LW	[[sardines? or: (.) no. they don't have sardines in: [°Tangier°
64	N	[yeah they have, a lot. yeah of course (.) it's at the ocean, close to the ocean. (.h) ah::::::m and then- in the evening then- we sti- we **talk** and um (.) we meet other **friends** from (.4) from Belgium/ also we meet there and then/ (.h) ah:m- it's just a coincidence but it's always the **same place** where/ everybody from ẖarij go, from Holland, France, (.9) ah:: (.8) you know/ we **all meet** at **one place** in Tangiers,
65	LW	mm
66	N	(.) and then we go **out** to a **club**, (1.8) if we don't go out to a- and then we go out to a club,- **if** we go out to a club, then (.4) we stay until the **morning**, and then (.5) **sometimes** we go immediately to the **beach**, and then we sleep (.6) under the **sun**, or/ we go first home and the we go. (.6 .h) but if we go- if we- if we **don't go** to a **club**, because we're not all- every day go to a club/ then we go (.)you=know/ **just driving around**, sometimes we arrive in (.4) **Casablanca**, (.) all of the sudden, (.7) or in **Rabat**, during the night, [you're just **driv**ing
67	LW	[has a- hhahahah
68	N	N: yeah we do it just **driv**ing, we- we did it ah (.3) two years ago. (.6) me and two cousins, (.) and a friend of us, (.) me/ my cousin [name] and [name] and frie- (.) and then we just drive around, and sometimes we arrive in **Meknes** or in (.5) **Casablanca**, or in **Rabat**, we just drive around.=
69	O	=we don't- we don't plan things, [(.) like, weeks before
70	LW	[ye[ah
71	N	[we don't plan
72	LW	yeah
73	O	it's eh at the sa- eh at the be-#
74	LW	yeah
75	O	so[:::: same day.
76	N	[but the- then we forget- then we forgot- if whe- when we **start**, the- the the **trip**, then we forget a lot of things/ like (.) we don't- take our swim: you know/=
77	LW	hhyeah
78	N	=our short =with=u (.) so we cannot swim if we arrive at the **pl**ace so/ (.) or we just drive around until we arrive at Casa**blanca**, and then at five o'clock then we just (.) dr: there we just drive back
79	LW	mm

80	N	because then, we think, like °oh shit (.) we don't have any° **shorts** or so[mething to **swim tomorrow,** [so/ (.) then we go back to Tangiers
81	O	[ehhehehehehehe
82	LW	[.hhhhahhaha

As Naim and Otman describe, nearly everything they do on a normal day in Morocco is oriented towards an *insha'allah* leisure timespace. These men and their peer-aged cousins are free to wander the spaces they have the mobility to access. They are aware that their mobility is enabled by capital that exceeds the average Moroccan, as evidenced by Naim's comment about the expensive hotel pool (turns 11-12 and 48-49), though they must budget their spending among a variety of leisure activities. In contrast to the complaints of some women (below), the autonomous mobility of men is not constrained by family commitments or household work; they only come 'home' (to their parents' homes) when it is necessary to change clothes, take a shower, or seek shelter. They can limit their participation in *attachment* to the time they want to spend on it. Naim does not discuss spending time with his resident Moroccan family at all (turns 5-16), while Otman describes the first week as reserved for family that live close to their diasporic home (turns 19-21 and 27), but the remainder of the month as leisure. On leisure-oriented days they follow a routine between outdoor leisure, rest, and nighttime consumption activities regulated by *insha'allah*. Their program is both predictable and unplanned, only orchestrated through fortuitous coincidence and serendipitous encounters that turn into autonomous mobile leisure activities (turns 62-82). The holiday becomes, in opposition to their work life in Belgium, a timespace that is profoundly spontaneous and relatively without limitations.

Shirin and Anissa's dialogue on their holiday habits provides both parallels and contrasts to Naim and Otman's accounts. They are in their early twenties and unmarried, and like the men they each go 'home' to different places – Anissa to central Morocco and Shirin to the east coast. Their first consideration in recalling their holiday behavior, however, relates to familial and gender structures.

7.4.2.c. Interview extract: Typical day II

Anissa and Shirin, Den Haag, 10 April 2008, 3m30		
1	LW	what for you was like a **typ**ical day (.) in Morocco/ (.) like (.) wake up early, wake up la:te/ wha- what is a normal day

2	S	ya wake- wake up eh:: not la- not too **late** but not too **early**, um:: eight o'clock, nine o'clock
3	A	do=you mean a family day or a day when we go:: [to the beach, or/ you know
4	S	[out yeahhahah
5	LW	either one, like,
6	A	cause a **family** day- eh- I would wake up early, (.4) because we would stay in a big house where all my relatives are, (.4) and then we would- eh- wake up in the morning, because eh/ in Beni Mellal it's very hot, you know=you can't sleep until ten o'clock or something like that, (.h) and eh:: we all have breakfast together, (1.4) and then what do we do/ we go to **family**! (.5) like/ in other ehm:: streets and stuff that, and um: (.4) go to the marketplace or- or whatever and then u:m um
7	LW	Beni Mell[al doesn't really hav:e a **beach** or a sw- anything to
8	A	[have eh:
9	A	no! it's very, it's yeah/ (.6) it's in the center of Morocco y=know, (.) no beach. aheheheh nothing! like you have a: a swimming pool, [but/ (.4) we hardly ever go there
10	S	[ahehehe **one** swimming?
11	A	*ja ja blijf **één***. yeah. yeah. maar em:: *ya ya there's **one***. but
12	LW	is it very expensive? or (.6) [a public/ is it like a municipal-
13	A	[no:: (.9) it's- (.4) °it's not expensive/ no no°. and then in the afternoon eh: (.4) we take a::- a:: (.) **siesta** ahehehehe.hh a big one, (.6) and u::m: (1.3) then we all have **lunch**, and then/ yeah, (.4) you=know=just- a lot of talking I guess
((question about talking, 2 turns excised))		
14	LW	LW: and for you, is that (.4) about the sa-
15	S	yeah, we wake up, yeah/ we=uh::: we go to the beach in **Temera**, it's near Rabat, and eh::/ (.) or I take the car/ (.5) when I had my driving license it was **better**, because I can take the car, and go to um: (.5) ah **Bouznika** or **Mohammedia** it's near Casablanca, (.4) t- yeah/ an::d then: (.) just for a day and then we come back but (.8) em:: my mom never lets us- (.) let us go to Casablanca alone/ because Casablanca is eh/ **ya**
16	A	[[ruwina, ruwina ((chaos, chaos)) ahhheheheh
17	S	[[a hard city ya ruwina ((chaos)) ya so she says/ **theddek** Bouznika ((**until** Bouznika))[ahahahahah and **theddek** Kenitra ((**until** Kenitra))/ I don't like Kenitra as well, so it's just Rabat, that's why I like Rabat,=because it's very **calm** and **cool**, no one=
18	A	[ahehehehehh

19	LW	mmm
20	S	=**speak to you** or is eh (.9) so eh ya, it's Bouznika and Rabat, just in Rabat/ you go to the **city** and in the evening we go to **Temara**, with **family:**, my dad/ and my mom/ and everyone (.) we sit there, and we eat something
21	LW	so- so for **you**, like a day near the beach, like in Jadida, same kind of thing? you wake up and go to beach? or
22	A	eh:: (.) ya.
		(2.6)
23	S	yeah
24	A	probably yeah,
		(1.7)
25	LW	um: (1.0) so
26	S	it's real- just a normal day if we have nothing to do, otherwise we go with the- whole family to Marrake:ch, or [we, we stay for four days,=
27	A	[yeah! you have like (.) family trips
28	S	=or we go to Ifrane () I saw a lot of Morocco with my parents.

Whereas Otman emphasized the importance of spending time with his family only for the first week, Anissa describes her typical day as a 'family day,' in which she stays home or visits other nearby family homes in her hometown in central Morocco (turns 3-6). Anissa's relatively small circle of mobility may be related to the lack of leisure outlets in her town. In order to go to the beach, she had established previously in the interview, she and her family go to an uncle's house in El Jadida on the Atlantic coast (turns 21-24). Shirin's hometown of Rabat, like Tangier and Tetouan, gives access to several beaches, which she explored more fully once she gained use of the family car (turn 15). Yet her mobility is still circumscribed by her parents: her mother warns her how far she is allowed to go, and not to go to Casablanca unaccompanied (turns 15-19).

The women do many of the same things the men do, but with familial companions, like parents, siblings, and siblings-in-law and probably their young nieces and nephews. Shirin describes her evenings like Otman, in that she goes to a slightly distant beach, Temara, which is comparable to Martil, but she does so with her parents. Anissa mentions at the end of this excerpt, and later described in detail, 'family trips' around Morocco in which she travelled with her parents or with a sister and her husband. For both women, there is a normal day with 'nothing to do' and days when they go away from the house, either out of town completely (to

Marrakech) or to the local (or semi-distant) beach (turns 26-28). Their travel, however, is not the profoundly spontaneous, autonomous, *insha'allah* travel of their male counterparts, as they practice mobility along with their parents.

7.4.3. Restrictions on leisure choices: Going out or becoming bored

The counterpoint to *insha'allah* leisure consumption emerges at junctures where DVs found themselves restrained and constrained from their desired mobility; in other words, becoming bored. Like Anderson (2004) describes, their boredom emerges through time-stilling and space-slowing, when their everyday activities become too habituated, and they seek new diversions.

Many DVs remembered bucolic childhood experiences in visiting their parents' hometowns, like playing with their cousins, visiting family, making friends, and embodying rural practices in the areas where their diasporic homes are often located, like picking fruit or fetching water from a well. Often these narratives gave way to a sense of confinement and frustration upon reaching maturity, manifest in desires to see other places Morocco, get away from the hometown, and participate in more exciting activities. Boredom emerges in this absence of newness, as DVs become entrenched in circuits of familiar practices and constrained from exercising autonomous mobility to discover something or somewhere else. This lack of mobility becomes relevant through two specific dimensions, or a combination thereof: first, being confined geographically to an isolated, central Moroccan hometown that lacked in leisure facilities; or second, being limited in one's autonomy of movement as a woman. Both of these, however, eventually become processes of gendered mobility, in that once men reach maturity and have their own capital and access to mobility resources, they tend to travel independently, while women continue to be constrained in their mobility by their connections to related men.

Limits on women's mobilities reflect gendered geographies of women's duties and responsibilities inside the home. In the group interview with family A, in which brothers, sisters and sisters-in-law were present, our discussion of leisure sites in Erfoud lead to the following exchange:

7.4.3.a. Interview extract: Activities for boys and girls

Hassan, Larbi, Lena, & Yasmine (all A), Roubaix, 1 Feb 2008, 25s		
1	LW	il y avait des- de::s activités differents parmi le::s (.5) les gosses et les/ there were some- some:: different activities between the kids and the/ (.4)
2	H	les garçons et les fill[es? the boys and the gir[ls
3	LW	[ouais=hh les garçons et les filles/ [yeah=hh the boys and the girls
4	LA	ah oui non c'était pas:::/ les garçons c'est- c'est vrai que t'as la piscine eh: ah yes no it was no:::t/ the boys it's- it's true that you have the pool eh:
5	H	ouais nous pouvons aller à la piscine ou [euh:= yeah we could got to the pool or [euh:=
6	LA	[ouais [yeah
7	H	=ou là on pouvait se balader, on xx entre nous, quoi =or there we could walk around, on xx between us, you=know
8	LW	mm
9	H	les filles, bon/ c'était pa:::::s the girls, well/ it wasn:::::'t
10	LA	les filles c'était euh::: bah elles avaient pas beaucoup d'activités en fait! hhh hhh hh the girls it was uh::: well they didn't have many activities in fact! hhh hhh hh
11	LE	ça commence, ça commence/ [avoir des activ[ités. **nous** no- notre activité, c'était faire la cui**sine**, eh/ [(.) le mén**age**- it starts, it starts/ [have many activ[ities. **us** ou- our activity, it was doing the **cook**ing, eh/ [(.) the **clean**ing-
12	H	[mais non mais c'est vrai, eh/ [but no but it's true, eh/
13	LA	[à l'époque [at the time
14	Y	aheheheh

Immediately preceding, the men in this group had discussed how they sought leisure in Erfoud, by borrowing their father's car while he napped to drive out to a nearby natural spring. When I posed the question about different activities for boys or girls (turns 1-3), the two men began answering for themselves (turns 4-7) and also for the women. Yet Larbi and Hassan were at a loss to think of what there was for girls to do (turns 9-10) – their only option as boys was the pool, and the

girls could not access that. Lena interjected to contradict Hassan's statement that girls didn't have many activities: their activities were housework (turn 11). Going 'home' to a place like Erfoud eventually becomes boring both for men and women, because it is a small place, far from the coast, with few leisure consumption options to keep the month-long family visit exciting. Women, however, are further constrained by their home-based responsibilities, leaving less opportunity for spontaneous leisure. Furthermore, men can access more publicly situated forms of leisure consumption in small towns than women can, inasmuch as many of these sites, like local public pools or ordinary cafés, are predominantly sites of male consumption throughout the year.

In some conversations, women described this gendered mobility of leisure consumption as 'patriarchal culture' that they experience differently in Europe than in Morocco. While in Morocco many public spaces are palpably gender segregated (Bourdieu and Sayad 1964; Crapanzano 1980; Pandolfo 1997), in Europe 'Moroccan' interpretations of familial and religious gender roles tend to be practiced in private spaces and contradicted in public spaces (Bekkar *et al*. 1999; Tetreault 2004). The tense dynamic between gendering as public or private is exemplified in discussions about the headscarf. One of the reasons some women choose to cover themselves is based on an Islamic principle that female beauty incites male desire, and instructs women to bear the responsibility to cover their 'beauty' from the male gaze. The idea that a dangerous male desire needs to be collectively controlled is not practiced the same way in European public spaces. It is, however, practiced and reproduced in Morocco, publicly and privately. Women who are 'protected' move as autonomous bodies in relation to male participation: public sites of leisure consumption are either for men or for 'families'; going out at certain times of day or to certain places requires a male escort from one's family as a demonstration that this woman is 'protected'.

Zakia's history of travel in Morocco provides an example of these provisions:

7.4.3.b. Interview extract: Traveling woman

Zakia, Marrakech, 26 May 2008, 50sec		
1	LW	toi tu as beaucoup voyagé eh: au Maroc, eh comment ça a commencé? parce=que- je demande parce que j'ai eu des #rapports d'autres femmes,

		you have traveled a lot eh: in Morocco, ah how did that begin? because- I ask because I have had a lot of reports from other women,
2	Z	oui yeah
3	LW	qui c'est- comme: femme c'est un 'peu plus difficile de[:::: bouger who that's- as: a woman it's a lit'tle more difficult to[:::: move
4	Z	[oui! oui tu peux pas voyager comme ça. **normalement** en=fait=ce qui s'est passé c'est que c'est=vrai que <le monde> musulman est un peu strict <du sort> de pas partir en vacances comme ça,=il=y=a=des=**filles** qui=ont la chance de .hh leurs parents sont xx un petit peu, mais=c'est=vrai=que=moi comment ça a commencé, c'est par xx mon **frè:re**. j'avais un grand frère, je suis **très** complice avec lui: .h et eh (.) comme ça qu'il m'a dit euh: je t'emmene où tu veux **aller:**, eh/ c'est lui qui me faisait passe mes vacances quoi/ avant d'être mariée. (.4) avant=d'avant=avant[=avant depuis c'est mon marie qui m'emmene en vacances, ((smiling voice)) c'était mon frère. il m'a=emmené à Casablan**ca:**, il m'a emmené- après ça était beaucoup=aussi mes **parents** (.4) Agadir, j'y était avec les parents eh:: [yes! yes you can't travel like that. **normally** in=fact=what happened is that it's=true that the Muslim <world> is a little strict <in things like> not going on vacation like that,=there=are=some=**girls** who've got the chance that .hh their parents are xx a little bit, but=it's=true=that=me how that started, it's by xx my **bro:ther**. I had an older brother, I was **really** tight with him: .h and eh (.) like that he told me uh: I'll take you where you want to **go:**, eh/ it's him who made me have my vacation you=know/ before being married. (.4) before=before=before[=before then it's my husband who takes me on vacation ((smiling voice)) it was my brother. he took me to Casablan**ca:**, he took me- after it was a lot=also my parents (.4) Agadir, I was there with my **parents** eh::
5	LW	[ehe'he'he'h
6	LW	donc c'est même on xxx eh [(.4) avec xx la famille so it's the same we xxx eh [(.4) with xx the family
7	Z	[c'est famille ouais. (.6) ouais ça reste en famille (.3) j'ai=jamais été en:- **une** fois, une année ma mère, elle m'a laissé partir avec mes copines à **Marrakech** mais eh (.) sinon ça a toujours été eh (.3) mon frère ou:: voilà mes parents quoi [it's family yeah. (.6) yeah it stays in the family (.3) I=never was in:- **one** time, one year my mother, she let me go with some girlfriends to **Marrakech** but eh (.) if not it was always eh (.3) my brother or:: that's it my parents you=know

Zakia's unusual travel history prompted me to ask her how she had come to accomplish it. Her answer demonstrates how she adhered to her family's expectations for her protection, by first traveling with her brother and parents, then with her husband. In fact, she could travel because her brother took her along; she had one unique experience of traveling with girlfriends, but apart from that she was 'taken with' a male family member. She was an exception among participants

because she maintained had managed to travel extensively through constraint of male 'protection,' and not in spite of it. Her greater mobility was enabled by her brother's participation; most women had more difficulty enlisting brothers as leisure partners.

For many women, autonomous mobility beyond parental control, arrives with marriage. Married women acquire some measure of autonomy by entering into a familial relationship in a different role, and becoming decision-makers for their own families about how to divide their holiday time between leisure and family. Jamila B attested to her own change in status as a married woman:

7.4.3.c. Interview extract: What's changed?

Jamila B, Den Haag, 12 April 2008, 40sec		
1	LW	how is eh(.) what you do when you go (.) um/ with your husband and your children, how is that different from what you did .hh when you were young? when you (.) went to Morocco,
2	J	um: hh (.) not e- [not **so**:: much because e- .hh (.4) um, **yes** (1.5) I have now the **free**dom/ **I** can choose (.) eh where we are **go**ing/ and eh (.) and when we- (.) when- (.) I was **young** eh y-yes/ I-I'm a **girl**, and I have sisters too/ so always **has** to be somebody with us,
3	LW	[°not so much?°
4	LW	somebody like/ [a cousin? or
5	J	[I think/ (.) a **cou**sin or an ehm/ my brother when he was: (.) not (.) m-married, yet, (.) or he was married he goes with us
6	LW	mm (1.4)
7	J	and:: ahm (.) that's the **diff**erence, that's ah/ we:: and- eh we didn't go **al=ways** to the beach. it was eh: a lot of we staying at home more/

She began to answer negatively, but shortly changed her answer to yes. She cites the lack of freedom of choice she experienced in her youth, as a girl (turn 2). Having only one brother out of six children restricted her movement. Back then, she was at home more (turn 7); as a wife and mother she can choose activities like going to a variety of beaches, as she had described to me immediately preceding this extract.

Inasmuch as married women gain the right to choose for themselves, many young unmarried women are frustrated in their desires for autonomous mobility – like Amina's disappointment at not being able to visit Marrakech (7.4.1). There

were rare exceptions of women who had traveled without parents or a husband, like that of Zakia and her brother, or Rabia, whose parents permitted her to travel independently. The Dutch student group was also a notable exception, in that it included a majority of women who were unmarried students, traveling without a male family member. They may have obtained permission because they went through their university group, or, equally possibly, they may have not informed their parents about their travel. Unmarried adult women, even those who live away from the family home, may continue to use deception or selective omission in order to avoid opposition from parents to their travel practices. Thus, some women travel in spite of these constraints. I met a number of women who had passed their twenties unmarried (or divorced) and become professionals living on their own. They traveled in Morocco with their cohort of friends, despite having to negotiate gendered obligations of *attachment* to do so.

Fedwa is one such woman, describing below her 'normal day' that reaches much further distances than the women previously quoted:

7.4.3.d. Interview extract: Typical day III

Fedwa and Mimount, Al Hoceima (Café Miramar), 21 July 2008, 1min		
1	LW	what is sort=of a **normal day** (.4) when you come to Morocco/ what=do=you do: (.5) on a normal day
2	M	<echt allemaal van jou, stel dat die van mij> really all from you, imagine what from me
3	F	[[ahahahahhahahah
4	LW	[[hahhahahah is there a normal day?
5	F	there is no hh=normal=hh day. .hh bu- normal day, you stay up ((*opstaan*, wake up)), yo- you:: you go:: to have breakfast with your own family, and then/ the **guys** go out**side**, and the **women** stay=at **home** (.) do the **things**, (.3) and you hoping you have a: little bit of time to go to the beach, (.5) we don't go to the beach here because there is all the **family**, so we go to a- a beach, what is eh (.) *beetje* ((*a little*)) feer- eh far, from eh: (.) from here
6	LW	which- eh which beach do you go yo?
7	F	uhm I don't know the names/ I don't know Hoceima: that well that I know the names. (.) but (1.3) I dunno/ we go for like one hour, two hours, come home/ (.9).h have coffee, and/ (.7) come here
8	LW	and- that's- about the same for you ((to M))? yeah.

9	F	yeah that's about the same, the only- difference is, when we go outside Al Hoceima, because we decide always to sta:y like a week, with family/ so we can do everything like/ the **rules**, (.4) of the fami[ly, (.) and then after that week, we go to like eh: (1.4) **Tangier** or eh: **Agadir** or you know/ the big places where you are eh:: (.6) eh:: free to do what you want to do.
10	LW	[yeah/ yeah/
11	LW	well- Agadir is quite far, it must be-#
12	F	yeh it's far/ but hheh if you want to have a nice time [you have to go far=ahahahaha
13	LW	[hheh hehhehheheh **really** far. ok: ahhehheh

Fedwa's normal day in Al Hoceima echoes both male and female days described above as divided along gender lines. The men go out and the women stay at home, hoping to go out (turn 5). She doesn't manage to spend all day out, but does get out at night; we spoke that evening at Café Miramar (Image 27), a popular, centrally located, and family friendly café in Al Hoceima.

Image 27. Women-friendly, but still predominantly male, Café Miramar in Al Hoceima. 3 August 2007, 8:30pm.

Unlike the previously cited women, however, she limits the time she follows the 'rules of the family' (turn 9), so that she can go elsewhere. Fedwa solves her problem of limited autonomy by traveling to Agadir, as far as possible from her family home that she can be while still in Morocco. As she laughingly says, 'if you want to have a nice time you have to go far' (turn 12). Elsewhere in her interview she contrasted the 'rules of the family' with her 'normal life' that she regains by traveling elsewhere in Morocco, like a her brothers:

7.4.3.e. Interview extract: They take the car and they go

Fedwa, Al Hoceima, 21 July 2008, 20sec		
1	F	yeah, the- they- they take the car and they go. [(.7) like for a week, (1.2) They don't have to ask/ can we go for a week? no. we are going.
2	LW	[mmhhh (.) yeah
3	LW	yeah
4	F	and that is what we want to do too,
5	LW	yeah
6	F	and you can do that only: if you are an adult and you can say to your parents, ok/# we are going now

While these narratives of daily activities and (sometimes unmet) desires for leisure consumption are not explicitly linked to seeing family, they do imply a relationship between staying at 'home' with family and limitations on autonomous practices of mobility leading to boredom. In order to have fun, both male and female DVs want to go out, but generally not to the point of excluding family visits entirely. For most participants, visiting family enters into their idea of being on holiday in Morocco, and is part of their typical day. Yet by seeking autonomy of mobility to pursue their own leisure, they also limit contact with those family members who are not able to accompany them, for whatever reason. Family visits are thus limited to convenient times and spaces, when DVs choose to make them, to the extent that they can make that choice. The ability to make this choice is intensely tied to both geographies of leisure consumption, in the accessibility of leisure sites nearby, but more embedded in geographies of gendered mobility in Morocco. More than any other dimension, gendered access to autonomous mobility delineates who can leave the diasporic house, and how far he or she can go.

7.5. Keeping purposefully separate: Gendered viscous geographies

In our conversation, Fedwa mentioned other holidays she had taken in Morocco autonomously, by flying directly to different cities without informing her family. Her desire for autonomy of mobility was very clear, and she had found ways to be mobile without a male protector. Yet Fedwa was also one of the most frank and vocal respondents on the subject of overaggressive male attention from resident Moroccans, as documented earlier by her practices of embodimentality (6.3.2.c). Along with autonomous mobility as a female DV in Morocco comes unwanted male attention, part of the 'mentality' of resident Moroccans, that was a source of discomfort and annoyance for many female participants.

Male protection for unmarried daughters, therefore, acts not only as a constraint on mobility, but has a vital purpose as a way to block unwanted attention on single women. The sense of danger from men outside the home is reflected in how parents structure permissible mobilities. When I asked women if they found their parents more or less strict about their activities in Morocco compared to Europe, the answers were generally polarized: either parents feared more for their daughters in Morocco, and insisted that they always be accompanied by a brother or cousin; or daughters were permitted to go out in their village or town in Morocco, but their movements in Europe were highly monitored. Women's interpretations about the reasoning behind parental strictness usually involved personal security and how parents imagined threats to their safety and honor in each place. This division also related to the urban or rural character of the surrounding hometown community. Urban spaces are seen as dangerous, and semi-urban or rural places incorporate a sense of the familiar public – family and neighbors – whose collective gaze acts protectively.

7.5.1. Collective protective gaze: Insulating against unwanted aggression

Many women find it in their best interest to stay with their 'protector' – whether an individual or a community barrier – as a strategy for lessening the harassment they might otherwise receive. In the absence of an individual male protector, geographies of DV leisure act as an encompassing gaze of a known

community, deterring unwanted male gazes. Women's choices of where to go out reflect an awareness of and participation in this dynamic. These choices include, for example, going to certain pools or beaches, or going to 'family' cafés, as opposed to the ones populated mostly by men. One night, I met a number of such women accidentally at such a café (Image 28):

Image 28. Arena Palace Café. Fes, 29 July 2008, 10:20pm

7.5.1.a. Fieldnote extract: Boys are too aggressive, 29 July 2008

> out last night at Arena Palace in Fes, a café set back off of Hassan II, in a neighborhood of banks, nice hotels and govt buildings (plus other nice shops)
> I was trying to be determined (not to work) and enjoy some coffee while finishing my cigarettes with A---, but [DVs] just kept coming in. soon, I had my eyes drawn to 3-4 tables at once, trying to decide the best way to approach.
> ...
> talked as well to a table of NL girls, related as sisters/cousins, with family home in fes but other family in other not-close cities - guercif? somewhere near oujda
> Nasrine with a sense of humor (or a case of the giggles) whose father wouldn't let them out of the car in Nador because the boys are too aggressive.
> her best moment, which wasn't recorded, talking about wanting to be in Tanger (*tan-ger) where there are other hollanders, as opposed to fes where the boys are bad. (1st time I've heard this expressed desire to stay with our own kind, because they are respectful in a way we are used to)

Although I went out in order to relax with a friend, I was unable to resist the lure of making contact with some of the many groups of DVs dotting the tables of the Arena Palace. Outside of the their stated perspectives in the interview, the fact that these women came to this place, along with so many other DVs who were there, was significant. As Nasrine told me after I had stopped recording, she would rather be in Tangier (pronounced with Dutch phoneticization, as /tañger/ instead of Arabic /tenja/) because that's where other Dutch people are, who are 'respectful' and interact with them in a way that is familiar. This café also creates a 'protective' environment, where Nasrine can go and not be harassed by aggressive boys.

Noura, whom I also spoke to at that café that night, expressed this rationale more directly:

7.5.1.b. Interview extract: Amongst ourselves

Noura, Fes (Arena Palace Café), 29 July 2008, 30sec		
1	LW	tu m'as dit- que- eh:: tu as dit que:::m (.6) la piscine Zalagh c'est pas- comme c'est tranquille (1.0) tu as eu des::: (.5) j'ai pas. des his**toires**, des expér**iences**, (.) euh:: (.3) pas tranquilles? disons?
		you told me- that- eh:: you said that:::m (.6) the Zalagh pool is not- like it's peaceful (1.0) have you had any::: (.5) I dunno. any **stor**ies, any ex**per**iences. (.) uh:: (.3) not peaceful? let's say?
2	N	eh: oui, parce=que en fait, pour moi je dis Zalagh c'est tranquille,
		eh: yes, because in fact, for me I say Zalagh is peaceful,
3	LW	ouais
		yeah
4	N	parce=qu'il=y=a d'autres piscines, il y a des complexes (.) il=y=a **Trois Sources**, il=y=a **Camping**, il=y=a le (.) le Diamant Vert/ (.9) mais en fait, (.6) euh::m nous, on aime pas se mélanger avec les gens d'ici parce=que les gens d'ici, (.) ehm::: ils aiment ehm: comment- comment dire ça. (1.6) ils aiment euh: (.) nous a**bord**er, et=ils=savent **pas** comment nous aborder. (.3) ils nous abordent eh: (.5) **assez** sauvagement,
		because=there=are other pools, there are complexes (.) there's **Trois Sources**, there's **Camping**, there's the (.) le Diamant Vert/ (.9) but in fact, (.6) uh::m us, we don't like mixing with people from here cause people from here, (.) ehm::: they like to ehm: how- how to say it. (1.6) they like to euh: (.) ap**proach** us, and=they=**don't** know how to approach us. (.3) they approach us eh: (.5) **too** aggressively,
5	LW	ouais
		yeah
6	N	et ils manquent souvent de respect. (.4) et c'est pour ça nous on es**saie**/ surtout les filles, bon les garçons moins parce=que toutes les filles, on essaie de s'éloigner de ces lieux, (.6) et de nous euh/ de nous mettre **entre nous**, (.) entre:: entre immigrés en fait.

		and they are often lacking respect. (.4) and that's why we try/ more so the girls, well the boys less cause all the girls, we try to distance ourselves from those places, (.6) and to keep euh/ to keep ourselves among **ourselves**, (.) among:: among immigrants in fact.
7	LW	ouais yeah
8	N	au moins, on se **comprend**, et euh même s'il y a un immigré qui vient côtoyer une fille, (.5) il::- il va pas nous manquer de respect. ou rarement. at least, we **understand** each other, and uh even if there's an immigrant who comes next to a girl, (.5) he::- he will not be lacking respect. or rarely.

While Arena Palace was our first interaction, earlier that day I had seen Noura when I went to the Hotel Zalagh pool with Mounir and his friends (7.4.2.a). Noura mentions some of the local swimming pools in Fes, that are not connected to hotels, in contrast with Zalagh (turns 2-4). As Noura describes, choosing sites in which to be a leisure consumer becomes a strategy for ensuring that one is treated respectfully. Keeping away from certain places avoids 'lack of respect' exhibited by resident Moroccans (turns 4-8), an aspect of that different 'mentality'. By choosing that pool or this café, with its evident popularity with DVs, she makes herself less visible to the kind of person with whom she does not want to interact, the resident Moroccan man who is disrespectful; to 'keep ourselves among ourselves.'

Noura's desire for insulated interaction integrates directly in the notion of viscosity (3.4.4). Saldanha (2007) introduces viscosity to describe the way he sees Goa 'freaks' – long-term, semi-resident visitors who occupy and produce the 'scene' of club culture in Goa – separate and reconvene in certain places at certain times, through certain forms of mobility:

> Observing again and again that certain spaces and times tended to attract hippies and ravers, which then made these spaces and times relatively impenetrable for Indians, I needed a concept to account for both the attractive forces between white tourists and the surface tension that enveloped them, without losing sight of the possibility that the boundaries could be (and were regularly) transgressed. (Saldanha 2007, 49)

Like a viscous liquid, individuals become molecules seeking to join with like molecules and maintaining a membranous surface tension that keeps unlike molecules separate. For DVs specific factors act as attractive forces, much like Saldanha's hippies and ravers, to bind them together: shared language and histories, networks of known people in common, and a similar purpose in coming to Morocco – holiday leisure consumption.

> Viscosity is about how an aggregate of bodies holds together, how relatively fast or slow they are, and how they collectively shape the aggregate (in this case, the aggregate of white youngsters in Shore Bar). Viscosity is also about how this holding together is related to the aggregate's capacities to affect, and be affected by, external bodies (in this case Anjuna's "locals"). (ibid, 50)

Viscosity is thus collectively pushing and pulling, shaping around attractors and against unlike bodies, to make a larger mass of many bodies sticking together. Certain likenesses bind DVs together, while other forces, like 'mentality,' repel them from interacting with locally resident Moroccans.

These fluid and mobile formations are not necessarily agentively produced orientations or preferences. They are enacted and embodied, perceived and sensory; combinations of instinctive and conscious choices that adhere to logics of categorization along multiple dimensions, making a membrane of surface tension that is strong but not impenetrable. These dynamics reflect the complexity of assemblage in the way that certain ephemeral sites, like Arena Palace, emerge as nodes attracting DV consumers, only to die out as the swarm migrates to another hive, moving individually but in concert.

Inasmuch as these leisure geographies involve consumption of spaces where women might choose to be uncovered – beaches, pools, nightclubs – the financial capital insulating these exclusive places becomes an important element to ensure women's comfort and safety there. As Noura explained to me about her attire while sitting in Arena Palace, 'During the day, I can't go out in a dress like this' (6.4.1.d, turn 1). Her clothing that night was not at all inappropriate in a European context, but would likely be found too revealing out in public in Morocco. The implication, then, is that the café was somehow private. As seen in Image 28 above, clientele sitting in it were somewhat obscured from the street perspective by plants. Beyond the physical environment, however, the café becomes an insulated space populated by like patrons – also DVs – where she can dress how she pleases. Her embodimentality as a DV extends beyond her clothing choice to the places she chooses to frequent, which offer her protection from some gazes and access to others. The insulation of viscosity enables her to go out dressed like that, to a place where she can be protected from harassment without a male 'protector.'

7.5.2. Flirting: Viscosity enabling sexuality

Finding men who do not lack respect is, in fact, an important project for DV women. Others have analyzed how sexuality enters into tourist/host dynamics as part of the economic and power relationship between travelers and those who receive them (Ryan and Hall 2001; Tucker 2003). In this case sexual encounters are still part of the holiday, but not necessarily brief, nor necessarily contact between bodies. Instead, the dynamics of flirting, picking up, chatting up, or la drague are made possible by DVs' collective, viscous occupation of leisure spaces like the café or the pool where I found Noura[30]. Unlike the typical sexual encounter in a touristic holiday, these encounters are not prescriptively temporary. Men and women occupying these holiday spaces are embedded in the same viscous flows between Europe and Morocco, inherently part of an accessible pool of potential partners. As much as these encounters can be *petits romances*, or brief encounters, they can be serious relationships, enabled by the assemblage of the holiday[31].

While the majority of instances of male-initiated flirting are cut off before advancing too far, DV men practice flirting in such a way that DV women find it tolerable or even welcome. In contrast, the flirtatious behavior of resident Moroccan men is characterized, as Noura explains above (7.5.1.b), as disrespectful, a product of a Moroccan 'mentality' that includes an aggressive male gaze. Yet beyond the initial greeting line, to maintain a conversation, the instigator must find commonalities. This process can be complicated by the multiplicity of Moroccan migration: no single background, language, or region in Morocco or in Europe is necessarily common between two DVs who meet coincidentally in Morocco. This problematic materialized when I went with Naima, a member of the Belgian group visiting Marrakech, to the nearby aquatic complex Oasiria (Image 29) one afternoon:

30. Who was when I first saw her, in fact, being chatted up by three men.
31. Acknowledging, of course, that this dynamic is heteronormative. Homosexuality is very taboo, and not something that I was able to even attempt to explore. Suffice to say, homosexual flirting did not happen in public spaces, that I could observe.

Image 29. Flirting in Oasiria

7.5.2.a. Fieldnote extract: Naima at Oasiria. 9 August 2008

(After lunch) I went straight to Oasiria to meet Naima...
she talks like she doesn‘t like the annoying drageurs, but she is nonetheless very very careful about her appearance and tenue:
she wouldn‘t take off her shorts, saying her legs are fat (which I find hard to believe - a decidedly ideal figure). she has very striking eyes, hair, and a deep tan skin color that make her noticeable from afar. and she is noticed, and she knows that they notice, but she refuses to consider any of them. Sometimes, when they are particularly persistent, she replies in the repartee, but not always. She complains about them, the fuckers, but I think she enjoys the attention. Constantly checking her phone, both of them!
For example, ‘Fred’ who came up to talk to her:
- Salam, es-tu instable ou c‘est l‘eau qui ne te conviens pas? [Hello, are you unstable or is it the water you don’t like?]
- quoi? [what?]
- es-tu instable ou c‘est l‘eau qui ne te conviens pas? [are you unstable, or is it the water you don’t like?]
- (shrug, turn away)
- c‘est de l‘humour [it’s humor]
- quoi!??! (louder) [what!??!]
- c‘est de l‘humour l‘HUMOUR [it’s humor HUMOR]
- l‘humour? [humor?]
- tu parles francais? kathederi bl arabiya? [you speak French? do you speak Arabic?]
- no non
- desolee, sorry
- bye (go away)
(the version he wrote down was somewhat more polite...)
it seems like la drague always happens in french - no matter who is on either end.
he came back by after she had gone off to deal with her hair to try to get info about her out of me, and we chatted for a while about his travel.

Naima's encounter with Fred (a Moroccan from France) in Oasiria was exemplary of these kinds of encounters in a number of ways. First of all, her attitude towards being 'picked up' was typical of most women: reject immediately. I remarked a few times in the fieldnotes on my impression that she wanted to be looked at, based on the attention she gave to her appearance, to arranging herself on the grass, as well as changing her clothes three times while we were at the park. Yet she spent a lot of time telling me how annoying the boys are, how much she doesn't want to be bothered. She demonstrated that preference when Fred approached in her attitude and bodily orientation towards him. The interaction was complicated more so by the fact that he began in French, a language in which she seemed to have only rough competence (being a native Flemish speaker), and so his attempt at 'humor' was an immediate failure. He then switched to *derija*, which also was a failed move because she is a Tashelḥit speaker. Even later, when he came back while she was away from our spot to ask for my help in being introduced, he could not make any progress with her[32].

Places like Oasiria seem to be prime pickup spots for DVs. The notes from my first visit to Oasiria, with Sanae, are filled with observations of visible public flirtations, plus a long encounter between her and a French *kharij* firefighter:

7.5.2.b. Fieldnote extract: Sanae at Oasiria, 7 August 2008

> Then, to oasiria, which was decidedly full of kharij. this is where all the NL plates go during the day.
> Watched one group of 3 in wave pool, posturing: doing pushups, holding each other's heads underwater (maybe mid-twenties...) and then trying to chat up French 2 girls sitting chatting in front of them. the girls ignored, he tried maybe 3-4 times to get a name or anything.
> Saw lots of other draguer occasions, including Sanae up close, with Yacine the pompier [firefighter] who started keeping us company while waiting for the navette that never comes.
> v. interesting that a lot of his drague was sort of recognition thru kharijness - where in europe are you from, where in Morocco; taza, hoceima and linguistic similarities; local knowledges like roads from one place to another, and things that have been changed recently or not. she admits the problem of not being able to Not be bothered by men, which he takes as possibly a veiled refutation, but she doesn't mean him. he's impressed she came to learn arabic...
> to the point of trying to stay with us and not leave with his friends...

32. When he came back, he discovered me writing down the course of their conversation. I explained my research to him, and he offered to write the conversation himself (see Appendix 4). I stayed true to Naima's evident preference, and did not tell Fred anything about her.

As I remarked in these fieldnotes, part of what makes these flirtations successful (in some cases) are the easy similarities to discover amongst DVs. Yacine's approach was much more subtle than some of the other drageurs I witnessed that day; he was helped by circumstances, as we were all stuck waiting for the complementary bus between the aquatic park and the city centre, giving him a chance to approach slowly. Once the linguistic barrier is passed (as Fred was not able to do with Naima), many DVs have similar dynamics of homes and displacements. Sanae and Yacine could find commonalities in their family histories and recognize the same homeplace geographies in Morocco and in Europe. They could even establish affiliative stance about the overaggressiveness of (some) men. All of these attributes signal their 'DV-ness' to each other, as much as their embodimentality does through their co-presence at Oasiria that day in August, their clothing, and their accents in French. The viscosity of these spaces is produced by such practices and interactions that make Oasiria become known as a place for DVs to go to find each other.

Flirting encounters are enabled by spaces like Oasiria, or cafés like Arena Palace, but they might take place in any of the spaces DVs inhabit during the summer. The following interaction took place on a souk street in Meknes, while Najat and Slama A were out shopping for purses with Chaima, a cousin who was friends with Najat. All three women were engaged looking at bags when a draguer – one of a group of men – called out the name of Najat and Slama's hometown:

7.5.2.c. Interaction extract: Flirtation on the street

Najat & Slama A, Chaima, and Drageur, Meknes, 17 Aug 2008, 2m30s		
1	N	cel[le-là celle-là: ou celui-la:::=
		tha[t one that one: or that one:::=
2	S	[yella! besmillah
		[let's go! in God's name
3	D	((in background)) vous etes d'[ou
		where are you [from
4	N	=[la Guess, (.) la: DG,
		=[the Guess, the: DG
		(1.4)
5	D	<Roubaix> là-bas? Valenciennes
		<Roubaix> over there? Valenciennes

		(1.3)
6	N	de Roubaix, il a dit hh=tu es de Roubaix=hhhehheh # °j'ai pas°
		from Roubaix, he said hh=tu are from Roubaix=hhhehheh # °I dunno°
7	D	Maubeuge, <là par> Valenciennes <tout ça>
		Maubeuge, <there by> Valenciennes <all that>
8	N	Roubaix Roubaix
((1:26 N and S continue looking at bags; N discusses with C problem with her phone))		
9	S	on y va?
		shall we?
10	C	ouais on y va/
		yeah let's go
		(5.3)
11	N	Slama t'envoye un message avec nous/
		Slama send a message with us
		(.8)
12	D	bonnes vacances les filles
		have a good holiday girls
13	N	merci, toi aus[si,
		thanks, you to[o,
14	C	[toi aussi
		[you too
15	D	tu veux mon numero ou quoi?
		you want my number or what?
16	N	enh [(.) vas-y parle toi
		enh [(.) go ahead you talk
17	C	[ehhheheh
		[ehhheheh
18	N	de[brouille toi, (.3) moi c'est ma grande soeur, je parle pas/ (2.0) démerde-toi
		you ma[nage it, (.3) me this is my big sister, I'm not talking/ (2.0) sort it out yourself
19	D	[xxx
		(2.5) ((walking))
20	N	ay! mes pieds! (1.4) fait chiante!
		ow! my feet! (1.4) so shitty!
		(3.5) ((walking))
21	N	fallait- toi tu t'interesse pas?
		shoulda- you weren't interested?
22	C	non [(.) c'est pas mon style
		no [(.) it's not my style
23	N	[bah voilà/
		[well there you go
24	C	°<xx pas mon style xx>°

		<xx not my style xx>°
25	N	bah voilà, (.6) ça=que j'ai dit démerde-toi
		well there you go, (.5) that's=why I said you sort it out
		((music)) (6.2)
26	N	ouais mais ses sahab, y en avaient/ (.3) <fait conne>, il fallait voir avec un de ses sahab
		yeah but his friends, there were/ (.3) <so stupid>, you should have checked out his friends

A full audio-visual analysis of this interaction would be more informative, but the limited audio from my recording still provides some data on practices of flirting. The microphone was attached to Najat, leading to her dominant voice and perspective in this transcript. It is clear, however, that the draguer was approaching her: he enters in her turn-relevant pause, making a guess of her hometown in France. This is something he may have ascertained by listening to her speak and recognizing her accent, as she was the principal negotiator in this group. He guessed right, but she doesn't respond to him, but responds to her companions (turn 6), probably to her peer-aged cousin Chaima. The draguer continues by talking about other towns in France about one hundred kilometers from her hometown, possibly identifying this area as his French hometown. Najat and Slama finish their unsuccessful search through this vendor's available purses, then all three women initiate their departure down the street (turns 9-11).

The draguer reappears at turn 12, after waiting nearly two minutes from his last turn for any verbal recognition from this group. He wishes them a nice holiday, to which both Najat and Chaima reply (turns 13-14). He then offers his number to one of them – probably Najat, as she replies by pushing her cousin to talk (turn 16). Her cousin is laughing at this point, and may have said something, though nothing is audible in the recording. Najat makes an excuse that she is with her big sister (Slama) and therefore not talking (turn 18); this move relates her refusal to a notion of respect and propriety around family, but she may be using it strategically to avoid a dispreferred negative response. In this same turn, she pushes her cousin twice to speak for herself. No further turns are audible from the draguer, as they walk away.

Once he is out of earshot, Najat addresses her cousin again, asking if in fact she was interested in these guys (turn 21). Her cousin replies negatively (turn 22), and then again with more detail, but inaudibly (turn 24). Judging from Najat's final

comment, telling her cousin she should have spoken to one of the friends, Chaima may have expressed an interest in another member of the group of men.

While this instance of flirting does not take place in a site of viscous DV consumption, it demonstrates how flirting is an embodied practice of being on holiday. As much as shopping was one of their activities for the day, it is clear from these interactions – both between Najat and the draguer and between Najat and her cousin – that all were familiar with flirting as a normal pursuit. The draguer knew how to get Najat's attention, by finding commonality in their place of origin. He can recognize her on the street through embodimentality: her style of dress, her accent, the group of women with whom she walked, and other indescribable embodied attributes. Najat knows how to respond, to encourage or discourage him, to give an acceptable excuse like familial propriety. Yet, her rejection is not out of hand: she passes the advance to her cousin, another DV who is similarly positioned to accept or reject this flirtation. Moreover, the women discuss strategy after the fact, what Chaima 'should have' done, possibly leading to what she will do next time.

Image 30. Nighttime flirtation, Meknes.

These kind of encounters between DV bodies (Image 30) may seem superficially frivolous, however as these practices are enmeshed in viscous geographies of appropriate partners, they can all potentially become serious. Tradition in Morocco encourages finding a suitable partner and committing to marriage relatively quickly, without cohabitation or any unsupervised contact that would put in question the virginity of the bride. The archetypal marriage is construed as springing from a single sighting of the woman by the man, who then speaks to her parents. Thus, these encounters on the beach or in the patisserie can lead to marriage:

7.5.2.d. Interview extract: We couldn't have met in France

Said, Paris, 9 Feb 2008, 1m30		
1	LW	t'as jamais pensé à se marier avec eh: une marocaine? did you ever think of marrying eh: a Moroccan woman?
2	S	non- non bah non parce=que justement, euh (.6) c'est trop dif[férent, no- no well no cause really, uh (.6) it's too dif[ferent,
3	LW	[même- (.) même une marocaine eh:: (.) uh:: de racine marocaine ic- eh: d'origine marocaine en France? ou uh [even- (.) even a Moroccan woman eh:: (.) uh:: of Moroccan roots her- eh: of Moroccan origin in France? or uh
4	LW	ah! je [me suis marié avec une- je me suis marié en France avec une eh::: une eh:: (.5) une fille qui est d'origine marocaine, ah! I [did marry a- I married in France with a:: a:: (.5) a girl who is Moroccan origin,
5	LW	[ouai- (.) bah- [yea- (.) well-
6	LW	ah oui oh yea
7	S	qui j'ai rencontré au Maroc who I met in Morocco
8	LW	a:h! hhhheheheh
9	S	à la plage! on the beach!
10	LW	ahhheheheh

		so there you go, yeah! cause- (.4) if it was for a girl who was in Morocco [eh/ Morocco, you:: you can't cause it's not- we're not # (.5) if you like, it's too:: eh (.) cultu- culture is different, you=know/
14	LW	[ouais, (.) ouais
		[yeah, (.) yeah
15	LW	ouais.[(.8) °la mentalité°
		yeah.[(.8) °the mentality°
16	S	[t'es:: il y a beaucoup de risque, par=la=mentalité,=il=a=beaucoup=de risque euh on voit pas la même chose, (.4) bon ça se comprend enh:: elle vit là-bas, je vis=ici eh (.5) par contre eh/ une fille ici, ouais j'y- bah je=l'ai rencontré euh: à Tiznit,
		[you're:: there's a lot of risk, by=the=mentality,=there's=a=lot=of risk uh we don't see the same thing, (.4) well it's understood enh:: she lives there, I live=here eh (.5) on the other hand eh/ a girl here, yeah I m- well I met her euh: in Tiznit,
17	LW	mm=mm
18	S	à la plage, et puis après: on se- on s'est- on s'est revu en France à Paris, (1.0) et ça s'est fait après #
		on the beach, and then after: we s- we saw- we saw each other in France in Paris, (1.0) and it was done after #
19	LW	ouais
		yeah
20	S	mais je=l'ai=rencontré là-bas! mais par hasard eh, c'était pas voulu quoi/ j'avais dix- eh: j'avais vingt ans,
		but I met her there! but by accident eh, it wasn't wanted you=know/ I was nin- eh: I was twenty years old,
21	LW	mm
22	S	c'était pas:::/ pas programmé, quoi (1.0) si=tu=veux et puis bon, bah ça se fait comme ça:: (.4) le feeling est passé, puis voilà,
		it was no:::t/ not planned, you=know (1.0) if=you=like and then well, well that's how it's done:: (.4) the feeling passed, and there you go
23	LW	mmmhhhhmmhm
24	S	mais oui! je=me=suis marié avec une: française d'origine marocaine/ [ouais.
		but yes! I=married a: French woman of Moroccan origin/ [yeah.
25	LW	[mmm bah elle vient de Tiznit eh d'origine?
		[mmm well she comes from Tiznit eh her origins?
26	S	Tiznit d'origine aussi ehn/
		her origins are also in Tiznit ehn/
27	LW	mais elle vient d'où en France?
		but she's from where in France?
28	S	Paris
	LW	ah ok (.) ok.
29	S	Paris dans: Paris dix-neuvième.
		Paris in: Paris nineteenth
30	LW	mm

31	S	bah disons=heureusement=donc on s'est rencontré à Tiznit, on=avait=pu pas=s- on=n'avait=pas=pu=se=rencontrer en France, puisque on n'était pas de la même eh: (.7) la même région, et:: eh/ on s'est rencontré là-bas, well let's=say=happily=so we met in Tiznit, we=could=have=not-we=couldn't=have=met in France, since we're not from the same eh: (.7) the same region, and:: eh/ we met there,

From my initial question (turn 1), Said responds that he would not marry a Moroccan from Morocco (turn 2). When I revise the question to specify Moroccans from France (turn 3), he announces that his wife is in fact Moroccan from France – whom he met on holiday in Morocco (turns 4-11). He continues to explain why he would not have married a woman from Morocco (turns 13-16). He then tells some of the story of how he met his wife, serendipitously, on a beach in his hometown of Tiznit (turns 16-24). She is also from Tiznit, but from Paris in France, unlike Said (turns 25-29); if not for the beach in Tiznit, they would never have met (turn 31). Being diasporic visitors on holiday to the same hometown created conditions of possibility that allowed Said to meet his wife. As much as flirting can be part of the 'touristic' consumption of Morocco as a place for fun, it is also a potentially serious side of *insha'allah*, that puts appropriate partners in the same viscous spaces to meet each other over the summer.

As these examples of flirtation indicate, only the approach of certain strangers, under certain conditions of propriety, are acceptable. The ways that DV bodies tend to stick together in certain places, to be visible and open for encounter amongst each other, contributes to producing these encounters and their aftereffects. While doing their own kind of tourism, their bodies are displayed to others, but in principle only the 'right kind' of others. Many processes in assemblage contribute to making these flirtations and marriages possible. Gendered access to autonomous movement and gender sensitivity of certain public spaces guide women to consume some places and not others, with certain barriers of protection and not others. Enclosed, exclusive places, like the Hotel Zalagh pool, create an environment that is at once safe and full of potential encounters. Embodimentality also plays a part, enabling DVs to recognize each other even in uninsulated spaces. Yet viscous spatial insulation from resident Moroccans enables them to meet each other in places that combine a gendered 'respect' with their purposeful pursuit of leisure. They can fulfill the project of 'getting out' and find

others who are doing likewise, escaping boredom and pursuing the 'sun, sand, sea and sex' of a touristic holiday.

7.6. Viscous automobility: Sticking together and flowing through

Going to Marrakech, being bored, flirting – these are all dynamics I witnessed repeating themselves, with some variation, with DVs across regions, nationalities, and languages around Morocco. 'Touristic' practices are evident in these dynamics, like the search for excitement in a new city or with a new love interest. Also evident is the way these dynamics are specific to diasporic visitors, embodying and inhabiting a 'Moroccanness' along with a 'Europeanness' which enables them to fit in while standing out. While the previous sections examined these processes more specifically through gender and sexuality as 'touristic' visitors, this section reincorporates gender into mobilities that are linked with economic status, particularly through cars and automobility. In assemblage, these cannot be disentangled from one another: as much as DV consumption of certain leisure spaces and not others reflects gendered 'protection', it is also part of becoming a 'tourist' with access to European labor capital, and part of the viscous flows of DVs through the Moroccan summer.

7.6.1. Revisiting viscosity: Emergent spaces and dynamics of separation

DVs attest that they want to have a 'real' vacation in Morocco, while being 'protected' and insulated from a Moroccan 'mentality'. The vacation is realized through individuals aspiring to and enacting *insha'allah* autonomy and spontaneity, which becomes collectivized into nodes of times and spaces that are predictably, spontaneously occupied by DVs on holiday. In the way that Naim described earlier in this chapter, he tends to meet up with friends when he goes out at night: 'it's just a coincidence but it's always the same place where everybody from kharij go[es]' (7.4.2.b, turn 64). The repetition of these dynamics from family to family, individual to individual, creates patterns that lead to viscosity. DV bodies congregate around certain places at certain times and display visible marks of distinctive embodimentality that make them recognizable to each other and to the larger

community. This sticking together so that they dominate spaces and share affects, becoming in collectivity more than the sum of the parts, is viscosity.

Saldanha situates viscosity in Goa through a machinic assemblage of whiteness, taking phenotype as a material part of this assemblage and 'race as an event, not how it is known through discourse or in people's minds' (2007, 8)

> From a machinic perspective, race is not something inscribed upon or referring to bodies, but a particular spatiotemporal disciplining and charging of those bodies themselves. Bodies collectively start behaving like situationally distinct aggregates – racial formations, racial clusters. These clusters emerge immanently, without external blueprint, through the corporeal habits and connections with the environment that bodies necessarily engage in. This, of course, doesn't preclude coercion. Especially in modern times, racial formation has gone hand in hand with gross violence and lasting inequality. As seen in Anjuna, racial clustering emerges through embodiment, face, and location. Each of these points toward the fact that phenotypical encounter, particularly in a contact zone like Anjuna, is dense with prior historical geographies of colonialism, religious conversion, and capitalism. (Saldanha 2007, 190)

Saldanha sees this clustering as immanent in a phenotypical trajectory, invoking historical geographies that espouse emergent distinctions between white, Indian and half-Indian (like himself). Those geographies link into power-geometries of advanced capitalism and the advantages afforded to whiteness through its structures. Race as an event, however, means the bodies in Goa are more than 'white' or 'non-white' – they are becoming through intensive incorporations, through what I call embodimentality.

> Goa freaks distinguish themselves from locals and mere 'tourists' by virtue of associating specific subcultural signs with their bodies. Bodies are not the same before consumption and adornment – they are sexed, raced, aged, diseased, disabled, classed. The interracial distinctions that have emerged in Anjuna through Goa freak fashion, the cult of motorbikes, and the Hindu symbol of Om are as cultural as they are phenotypic. More complicated still: it is precisely through the exoticist borrowings from Indian culture that whites set themselves apart from Indians. (ibid, 92)

By becoming more 'Indian', they become more 'white'; by inhabiting symbols of 'being Goan' through their phenotypically distinct bodies, they become 'Goa freaks'.

My empirical data parallels Saldanha's observations about the tendencies for certain bodies to stick together and make paths for themselves. However, he centers his paradigm around a machinic assemblage of race that is specifically phenotypic – invoking the materialities of phenotype as key in these interactions. In my data, the phenotypic entity is key because of its presumed sameness rather than

its distinctiveness; because DVs are 'Moroccan' bodies. What becomes more visible is how their bodies become inhabited and em-bodied – their embodimentality – in ways that mimic and mirror high income nation 'whiteness' as much as middle-income nation 'Moroccanness'. The consumption habits that become material through these bodies – their clothes, their tanned skin, the ambiances and environments they enjoy, the food and drink they ingest – lead to these Moroccan bodies absorbing 'Moroccanness' by visiting and consuming Morocco, and thereby becoming less 'Moroccan'.

More so than phenotype, this assemblage becomes relevant through economic distinctions that become visibly and audibly embodied, in different interlocking kaleidoscopic layers of embodimentality. Viscosity is in DVs' predominant choice to tan their bodies as much as in their obviously foreign accents; in the way they wear Moroccan fashions, as much as in the elite cafés and swimming pools they frequent. Spending day after day at the pool or beach is necessary to develop a tan; having a tan and being at an expensive café is relevant to recognizing each other as diasporic visitors; recognizing each other leads to flirtations and networks of viscosity moving from place to place.

The gendered protective environments in cafés described in the previous section intersect intensively with economic capacities for consumption. Those cafés and pools are seen as 'higher quality' versions of the same kind of spaces elsewhere, not just because of their safety from overaggressive male gazes. The pool at Zalagh costs one hundred dirham to enter; the equivalent of approximately ten Euro, or more than half of a resident Moroccan laborer's daily wage. Likewise, the coffee at Arena Palace costs double what you might find elsewhere. All cities I visited, and even some smaller towns, have parallel sites to these: the aquatic park, the hotel pool, the section of the beach where it is mostly DV sunbathers; the fancy patisserie, café, or ice cream parlor that is mostly the same DVs after the sun goes down during July and August, all of them rendered exclusive through higher prices.

What unites these places is their adherence to a dynamic of modern European modes of consumption, touristic or otherwise. They offer services that have apparent standards of quality relative to the prices paid. DVs usually describe them as 'clean', 'peaceful' or 'friendly'. When talking about beaches they prefer, 'the beach' as nonspecific or unqualified usually refers, upon further questioning, to

specific beaches that are 'cleaner' or 'quieter' than others. In terms of food, DVs share concerns with other visitors about digestive problems resulting from poor quality cooking, and cite that as a reason to choose certain restaurants – usually those that are more expensively decorated or appear more decorated – over others. Likewise they appreciate Marjane, a chain that has opened across Morocco in increasing numbers in the past ten years, because it offers everything in one place with prices posted[33].

Coming from Europe, being accustomed to European facets of leisure consumption, DVs understandably seek similar means and manner of consumption on holiday. Their pursuits sometimes intersect with foreign tourists, in the same hotels or seeing the same national landmarks. They also intersect with elite resident Moroccans, by consuming at the same salons, cafés, or nightclubs that those residents inhabit ten months of the year. These spaces become insulated because of their clients' elevated access to expendable income, then come to be inhabited by DVs because they have money to spend in Morocco.

The emergence of this viscous consumption links these places to conspicuous consumption. An impression was repeated among resident Moroccans that the visitors are 'showing off' their wealth in the way they consume, purposefully. Even some DVs repeat this impression, as stated by Soumia:

7.6.1.a. Interview extract: They way they're sitting there

Soumia and Ahlame, Antwerpen, 25 March 2008, 40sec		
1	LW	if you're out on the beach, or::/ when you're **outside**/ (.) eh: (1.4 .h) who is it that you end up seeing mostly/ is it em:: (.) like- do you see a lot of other kharij, other:: like visitors? or are you seeing moroccans who live there? or
2	S	I don't like the beach (.) first, and two/ when i go to the beach, because (.3) you **have** to go to the beach when you are in Moroc[co, i see a lot of people who are living in europe!
3	LW	[ahhehehe
4	LW	yeah (2.0)
5	S	a **lot** of people.
6	LW	how can you tell? is it ju- language? or

33. Marjane is in fact a subsidiary of the French Carrefour group.

7	S	[[the language, the manner, eh to:/ (.) # (.8) to be **there**, ((stirring tea))(.6) a little bit arrogance too (.4) °I think°
8	A	[[mm (.7) mmmm
9	LW	yeah, mm. (.4) really. arrogance.
10	S	yea:: just eh.) **yes**, arrogance.
11	LW	why? wh-
12	S	um: (1.4) the way they **speak**, the way they- they're **sitting** there, and thinking that eh: (.7) because they have some **money** they: they can do everything. I don't know, it's a (1.4) it's a feeling.

Image 31. Playa beach, Al Hoceima. 29 July 2007, 5:30pm.

Soumia describes an impression linking DV embodimentality to conspicuous consumption as part of 'being-European'. She does not cite specific actions, but 'the language, the manner' (turn 7) of being there on the beach that identifies these bodies as diasporic visitors. She further interprets them as embodying arrogance: 'because they have some money they: they can do everything' (turn 12). Just being there, on that beach – through manifestations of *hexis* as part of embodimentality – these bodies become interpreted as arrogant.

For most DVs, I do not believe the decision to spend time in more expensive, quality-controlled places comes out of a coherent desire to 'avoid' resident Moroccans. Avoidance does not fit with the ideologies of home discussed

previously, and the myriad ways DVs expend effort to 'belong' in the community as Moroccans. Inasmuch as their isolation is not (necessarily) intended, its emergence is revelatory of how DV consumption habits, in their multiplicity of motivations and desires, differ from the majority of local residents along specific boundaries. For some, like Noura at the Zalagh pool (7.5.1.b), the decision to avoid certain places is a result of feeling harassed to a point of discomfort. For others, it might be a desire for quality and comfort – like Lamia and Michel's choice to stay in a hotel, and not in the family home (7.3.3). For others still, like Naim (7.4.2.b) it might be simply because, in connecting with others in their network, they are led to certain places, to which they return along with their peers, or move on to the next interesting spot. The effect of this circulation of information, geographies and mobilities is viscosity, such that DVs become insulated, to a certain extent, from resident Moroccans who are not able to access the same places.

The viscosity of DV mobilities became evident to me as I became more embedded in their flows over the course of my fieldwork. Similarly to Saldanha, I began to be able to predict the flows of people from one site to the next, in repeating patterns, which varied day to day but stuck to the same kinds of sites and timespaces. This came to the point where I had circulated enough that I became absorbed into the viscosity of DV networks myself. I began to coincidentally rediscover participants I had known elsewhere. The day that I accompanied Mounir to the hotel pool, I noticed a woman chatting by the bar; later that day I found her, Noura, in a café. While I was in Marrakech stopping at a McDonald's with Naima and her group, I was spotted by one of the Dutch students I had met earlier in the summer. Between our meetings, she had been back to the Netherlands and returned to Morocco for her normal family visit to Rabat. Most surprisingly, in the restroom of a hotel pool in Meknes, a French DV recognized me from a rest stop on the road in Spain, where I had approached friends of hers with survey questionnaires. DV places of consumption are connected through a viscous geography that crosses their European trajectory into and throughout Morocco, allowing DVs to float along surfaces (Stewart 2007) of consumption spaces in Morocco and congregate in nodes of mutual attraction.

One such node, where DVs were predictably to be found, is McDonald's. Early in the Moroccan phase of fieldwork, I was told by taxi drivers to look for DVs

at McDonald's. I followed this advice, but found it fruitless early in the summer. Later, after mid-July when the majority of European school holidays begin, the situation reversed. I was brought to McDonald's (Image 32) by three separate DVs in different cities.

Image 32. McDonald's Meknes. 17 August 2008, 10:45pm.

Like other places incorporated into this viscosity, it is a source of 'quality' in their terms. The food there can be trusted not to cause digestive problems. It is more expensive than a meal in a typical sandwich place, but still cheaper than in Europe. McDonald's is not empty when the DVs are not there: it is equally, I discovered early in the summer, a place for middle class Moroccans to hang out. One participant explained part of the reasoning for choosing it over local sandwich places: DVs cannot eat McDonald's in Europe because the meat is not halal. Being a 'European' institution, they can trust its quality-control and reliability, as well as find others like them who trust it. But most importantly for the dynamics of DV viscosity, McDonald's is accessible by car.

7.6.2. Having a car: Materially becoming a mobile DV consumer

Movement, both the fact of it (mobility) and the potential for it (motility) play a significant role in how DVs experience Morocco as a space of touring for leisure. Moreover, their chosen means of transport, private automobiles, are significant as indicators of economic power differing between Europe and Morocco. They enable comfortable, high-speed travel and contribute to the intensive affect of independent, autonomous leisure consumption DVs seek in traveling to Morocco. Having a car, as a nearly implicit fact to their visit in Morocco (see below), means that they are able to move throughout Morocco differently than the majority of resident Moroccans.

Image 33. Predominantly European license plates, parked at an outlying beach near Al Hoceima. 31 July 2007, 5pm

7.6.2.a. Fieldnote extract: Looking for people or cars? 3 August 2008

> earlier when I talked to [resident vendor participant], he said all the hollanders were here last week. also, that I should look in the parking lot behind the hotel CTM or the one by koutoubia to find their cars. why do people always direct me to their cars?

In the above fieldnote, I was referred, not for the first time, by a resident Moroccan to the place where DV cars were most visible *en masse* in central Marrakech: in parking lots near central landmarks just outside of Djemaa el Fna. When I chatted with taxi drivers about where to find DVs, they would also often refer to places their cars are parked. Yet these questions were never posed as 'where can I find their cars' but as 'where can I find these people'. Not only taxi

drivers, but vendors and ordinary residents would give me this kind of answer. Sending me to where their cars sit reflects on how intensively DV presence is made visible through their material automobility (Image 33).

Cars as material objects of consumption are densely packed signifiers of economic status interwoven with potential mobilities and blockages (Gartman 2004; Gilroy 2001; Merriman 2009; Miller 2001a; Sheller 2004; Verrips and Meyer 2001). Truitt (2008) latches on to motorbikes in Vietnam as a commodity occupying the vibrant intersection of trade liberalization and control over urban mobilities, evoking an assemblage of the emerging Vietnamese middle class. Their role in this process is beyond the commodity item, in that motorbikes become a material part of multiple dimensions of social life: from close contact between couples while riding them, breaking taboos of intimacy; to reformulations of urban traffic to accommodate the critical mass of motorbikes on the road; to linking Vietnam with foreign auras and the fluctuating values of brands being imported; to surpassing bicycles as vehicles for mobility, increasing speed, pollution, and a sense of frenetic freedom and flexibility across the landscape. Many of these same transformations apply to this case, inasmuch as motor vehicles emerge with potentials for illicit intimacy, create blockages in urban traffic flows, are potently identifiable with foreign brands and class signifiers, and become integral to feelings of speed and mobility around Morocco. The major difference is the source of the commodity. Instead of local residents demonstrating upward economic mobility en masse, the economic distinctiveness applies to diasporic families in a brief, intense flood.

Very high tax on importation of used cars[34], plus the prohibitively high pricing of new cars means that car ownership in Morocco remains an important class distinction (Ksikas *et al.* 2009). Compared to most European nations, where car ownership is well over four hundred per thousand, Morocco is home to fifty-three cars per thousand persons as of 2007 (World Bank 2010). According to government tabulations of entries of persons and cars by ferry, Moroccan Nationals Residing Abroad temporarily imported about seven hundred thousand cars during the summer of 2008, increasing the population of vehicles in Morocco by nearly

34. This tax is meant to be changed as of 2010, when Morocco is set to gain 'advanced status' in the European economic area.

50%. To say the least, MNRA presence in Morocco is embodied along with their cars, which are recognizable as much because of their overburdening with cargo as they enter as their European number plates identifying them as foreign.

Cars are established as characteristics of DV embodimentalities, and concurrently reminders of the economic disparities between Europe and Morocco. As much as these cars serve as instruments for experiencing forms mobility, they are also material objects that reflect significations of wealth and consumption. Brands of cars have become increasingly important, as part of conspicuous consumption displayed on the extension of the driver's body. Many participants told me, although none claimed to have done it, about young DVs saving money to rent expensive models to drive for the summer (Figure 16).

Figure 16. Extracted from a Facebook thread entitled Je bent een echte Marokkan als (you are a real Moroccan if), posted 26 December 2009.

You work all year round, traveling back and forth with a stolen bicycle and the in the summer FINALLY you can hire a Golf 5 to show in Morocco

Comment: quite right!

The materiality of cars (Image 34) makes them a source of distinctiveness that enables mobility and expands embodimentality, becoming intensely visible and closely read.

Image 34. Traffic clogging a main road in Al Hoceima. 2 August 2007, 10pm.

For average resident Moroccans, practiced daily mobilities encompass a territorial span that reflects their access to transport. With private automobile ownership being so limited, this is most often public transport, with its costs, unreliabilities, discomforts and demands for time. Journeys involving the aid of transport, from one side of the city to another for example, are only undertaken for good reason or for a stay of a proportionate duration. Movement for the sake of movement tends to be practiced on foot, as many city streets are crowded in the evenings with pedestrians going out to stroll. Automobiles might participate in this 'strolling' to some extent, but acting much more as symbols of class distinction, dividing their drivers (with capital) from those who walk (without capital).

7.6.2.b. Interview extract: Beaches for people who have a car

Anissa and Shirin, Den Haag, 10 April 2008, 1m30s		
1	LW	what about um: going to **beach**/ I know- (.8) um- some people tell me about- you know/ beaches in Morocco have different kind=if **characteristics** like/ there's the beach where everyone is going to show **off** and there's the bea[ch where it's more **families**, and- (.4) um, what kinds of- (.4) do you go to all different kinds? or are there particular ones that you like/

2	S	[yeah
3	A	I go to/ (.) different ones, [(.) I don't really pay attention t[o: (.4) like, (1.4) **no**, (.) to the people or anything like that/
4	LW	[yeah [no?
5	S	we don't yeah=
6	A	=like if I'm in: El Jadida I go to Sidi Bouzid, (.) that's um: it's- it's not the beach of El Jadida, but it's [(.6) near- nearby,=
7	S	[Sidi Bouzid is a nice/ (.) yeah. nearby:
8	A	=and (.4) you see (.) **all** kinds of people there. (.) a lot of **families**, a lot of **youngsters**,
9	S	but that's a **good** one because for us it's **diff**erent/ my dad, (.9) he let us go to the she- to the beach but h- eh:: (.) not to the beach of **Rabat** because everyone is going to the beach of Rabat, all the (.) e::m (1.0) a lot of **boys**, eh:::: it's **easier** for them, so my dad s- g- always say, go to the beach, but the **beach** where (.) no **bus**es are driving=hhhahahahah so only peopl:::e who have a **car** can go to that beach, [so it's (1.0) normally eh:: yeah **Temara** or **Bouznika** or some eh- somewhere else. (.) cause rabat is **very full** then [(1.4) a lot of boys,
10	A	[mmmm,
11	LW	[mmm
12	LW	yeah
13	S	more boys than the girls. so that's why,

Image 35. A car-accessible beach: Achakar, near Tangier. 5 July 2008, 5:45pm.

Although Anissa begins this discussion by saying she goes to 'different beaches', seemingly non-exclusively, the beach she cites in turn 6, Sidi Bouzid, fits into the dynamic of DV consumption of more exclusive places. Berriane cites that beach specifically as frequented by elite resident Moroccans on holiday (Berriane 1980). Shirin continues by describing the difference in access between beaches: more centrally accessible ones are more heavily populated, so her father tells her to go where the buses do not (turn 9), to relatively inaccessible places that must be accessed by car (Image 35). Many other DVs mentioned 'seclusion' and 'isolation' as characteristic of the beaches they prefer, implying their ability to reach them when others cannot.

The Arena Palace café is another example of a car-accessible location. When I was there, it was a solitary energetic site on what was otherwise a boulevard full of banks and government buildings already closed for the evening. It has an ample and accessible car park in front of it, with plenty of room for DV vehicles (Image 36).

Image 36. Cars congregating outside Arena Palace, Fes.

The major part of the parking area is behind this perspective, out of frame. There, Noura discussed her preferred swimming pool, echoing this isolation through accessibility: she names different public swimming pools in Fes, all of which are more public transport accessible and less expensive than Zalagh (7.5.1.b). Nasrine also told me how her father would not let her out of the car in Nador (7.5.1.a). Car-based consumption thus contributes to the places DVs can access and choose to go as elite consumers in their nodes of viscosity, separating them from a public and collecting them in a group. In connection with controlling environments for gender 'mentality', the distance and accessibility of these places relates to the economic power of their clientele in a way that DVs semi-purposefully seek out.

Yet there are also invisible points where DV cars are materially cogent to the way the holiday happens. Their movement into Morocco by car is a highly visible, recorded event, but their movements around Morocco are less easily tracked (but still trackable). They might convene in places, like the center of Marrakech or Tangier, that are publicly visible, but they also congeal around places because they

are relatively invisible – like the distant beaches and aquatic parks they seek out to find peaceful leisure. Because these places are inaccessible without cars, they are effectively invisible to those I was asking in the central, pedestrian city. Even taxi drivers, who might drop a customer at the door but not enter the parking area, would not necessarily track these vehicular geographies.

These kind of car-only accessible places, like the aquatic parks and distant beaches that render DVs materially 'invisible' in cityscapes by removing their cars, constitute the map of viscous DV leisure consumption geographies. By the end of the summer, I began to realize that most new places I was being taken to by DVs were new to me because I had been unable to find them on my own, without a car. I was lead to car-friendly cafés, with ample parking on the surrounding streets or car parks beside them; not the cafés on the central boulevard which are easy to discover by walking but require parking at a distance. The McDonald's are nearly all equipped with their own parking, and some with drive-thru windows as well. The aquatic parks and the desirable beaches are always away from the center, sometimes difficult to reach by public transport but always difficult to return from by public transport: once distanced from the center, the non-automobile passenger either must pay the higher prices extorted for mobility, or wait for an empty place in a passing taxi who is willing to stop. Either way requires a frustrating investment of uncertain capital that is nullified by having the appropriate private car.

This lack of autonomous transportation on my own part came into play in one decision I made during the fieldwork. I met a group of women through DV viscosity: going out with Malika to eat dinner in Tangier, we coincidentally crossed paths with two different individuals she knew from her hometown. One was with a group of women – her sisters from Belgium and a sister-in-law from Morocco – and I tried to make an appointment to meet them the next day at Mnar Park, an aquatic center on the outskirts of Tangier.

7.6.2.c. Fieldnote extract: Day of excursions, 18 July 2008

> yesterday was a failure.
> this day, the 18th of july, with only 5 more weeks or so in the holiday, if that much, I missed my chance to meet with new people because i was afraid of leaving my comfortable bubble. instead, we spent the day driving around essentially at Brahim's whim. we toured places where he has family or had family, things he remembers from his visits. i don't blame him for wanting to do

this, but I do blame him for bringing along 5 witnesses without really consulting them on their preferences.

In this fieldnote, I am referring mostly to my own frustration at having made what seemed to be a wrong decision in how to spend my time. Getting up to go that morning, I was preparing to try to find a taxi to Mnar Park but found instead that Brahim, Malika B.'s brother-in-law, was planning to drive his family in that direction and could drop me off. Arriving after a long and circuitous drive to the top of a hill overlooking the sea, across the bay from the center of Tangier, I started to worry. Firstly, the day was so windy that I feared the outing would be abandoned by the other party, who would not want to sunbathe in such strong winds. Secondly, I worried that if I was left by Brahim and his family, getting back to Tangier would be a problem. The parking area was filled with cars as much as the poolside, visible below us on a cliff through a fence that surrounded the complex, was dotted with people. So many cars meant so many independent drivers, but not taxis; being left up there, potentially not finding my people, and then having to get back to Tangier on my own was too daunting a prospect. I tried calling them to make sure they were there, but could get no answer, so instead I chose to return to the car and try again another day. I never managed to meet with that group, but I did have a frustrating and tiring day out with Malika, Brahim, his wife Souad, and their two children.

In the fieldnote I say we were 'driving at Brahim's whim': we drove along the coastline to a small town, Ksar Sghir. We parked and walked down to the beach, ate lunch at a seafood restaurant overlooking the water, got back in the car and kept going. We drove up to the site of the new ferry port, Tangier Med, that was under construction and were all impressed with the scale of what was going to be created. We tried to find a different road back, but ended up returning the way we came. After we passed Mnar Park again, on way back home, Brahim abruptly turned the van up a steep road into a village on the hill across from the hill of Tangier. Driving through narrow streets on steep hills that were unfriendly to such a heavy vehicle, he found the place where his grandfather's house once was. We got out of the car again, met people he knew, showed his children the place where he visited in Morocco when he was a child, and walked to the site of the stone house which was already falling into ruin. In fact, it may have been a deeply personal

drive for Brahim, and for his wife and children, to interact with his family history. My presence, and Malika's as well, were as mobile spectators.

This drive was an exercise of *insha'allah*: we began without a specific trajectory and discovered what opportunities driving opened to us. The experience is a glimpse of what other participants, like Naim, Otman, Fedwa, and Mounir, described above as jumping in the car to go somewhere, but modified from youthful exuberance to family travel. It demonstrates how DVs take advantage of the material potential of cars to become mobile consumers in and around Morocco. I met other families who had done this or were doing it, like Hind and Abdellatif who took their daughter on a tour of Morocco (Appendix 5). They covered hundreds of kilometers in a few days, from Tangier where I first found them, to Marrakech, and then back home to Nador in a rush because Hind's brother needed help. Having a car and becoming a mobile consumer is a material extension of embodimentality, that in turn becomes part of the affective experience DVs have in Morocco.

7.6.3. Embodied viscosities: Automobility enabling affective hypermobility

7.6.3.a. Ways of escape: Fes

> Take me on a trip, I'd like to go some day
> take me to New York, I'd love to see LA
> I really want to
> come kick it with you
> you'll my American boy
> American boy
> - Estelle, "American Boy"

The hypermelodic refrain of this song is part of the fabric of the summer of 2008: on the car radio while driving for the sake of driving, at night, in Fes after the air has cooled down from the daytime heat.

Driving with Noura and her two friends in the orange Kia she rented, as she tells the story of how the (Moroccan) rental company was inefficient and unreliable from the moment she arrived. She wasn't meant to have a Kia at all, but some other more substantial car.

We are just one car in the caravan of three, all French Moroccans except one Algerian, moving from café to restaurant, then to another café, then back to the one where we started out. Each move seems to be driven by the attractive motion of group action: a desire emerges from one member to eat something, and soon we are all motivated from our café table to the road, debating which restaurant (of the choice of three or four they know and like) to head for; then we are stalled standing by the cars, as two members are off in deep, heated discussion about some personal issue that never becomes clear to me; one of the waiting five breaks off, jumps in a taxi out of boredom and impatience, and then we are all motivated to follow him to the restaurant he chose. Once we

arrive there, he is nowhere to be found. He wandered down the street to one of the other options (out of the four), but they were there last night so no one wants to join him and he is pulled back to us. An hour has passed from the first movement to sitting down, and by now the kitchen is practically closed and we have to convince the waiter (with some derija *codeswitching) to find us something to eat.*

This process revolves, repeats, shaping the evening into something different, where new and old things happen as the movement changes, yet the same as the previous one in which so much nothing happened. In the end, it is 4 AM when I can't keep up out of exhaustion. We are in the Kia, riding in a caravan, with radios loud and momentary streaks of speed to chase each other on the empty boulevards of the former French city of Fes, when we come across a wedding party doing essentially the same thing – celebrating the end of the night by riding around city in caravan, horns blaring to announce the new couple, and our three cars momentarily join theirs around a traffic circle before we take off in a different direction. It feels like I'm in high school again, with the headiness of unhindered mobility and late night thrill-seeking, trying to wake the neighbors and see dawn.

Being distinctive and autonomous modes of travel, cars contribute to the affect of being 'at leisure'. Sheller elicits the 'aesthetic, emotional and sensory responses to driving' (2004, 222) that are intensively embedded in car consumption. They become implicated in tropes of independence, speed and escape, particularly in contexts where cars provide an opposition to regimented daily life (Garvey 2001). As extensions of bodies, the 'driver-car' (Dant 2004) becomes part of the potential field of movement and form of taking up space through an extended embodimentality. Moreover, they reconfigure sensory experiences of space, like the city (Thrift 2004b) or the nation (Edensor 2004). Cars and the ways they are used by DVs in Morocco reflect this capacity for taking pleasure in speed, freedom and the status of hypermobile consumption, as they speed around their hometowns and across the country.

I call this affect 'hypermobile' because much of their mobility is movement for the sake of movement. As related in the narrative above, our group that night was engaging in consumption activities, but also going around the city to feel the speed and freedom of movement. These movements are part of the intense spontaneity of *insha'llah*, marking them as part of a DV holiday. *Insha'allah* in these practices is made possible by a confluence of traits between *descent* and *place*. DVs are familiar with Morocco geographically and socially, with the services available, along with the 'savings' assured by their European ability to spend and their Moroccan ability to bargain prices and communicate for services. Moreover,

being embedded in viscous networks of DV geographies, they can find friends to take part in leisure with them: the group described came from different places in France but became interlinked through mutual acquaintance, diasporic homes in proximity to each other, and coincidental timing. Noura told me they didn't often meet in France, but found each other nearly every year in Morocco.

Not having a car, as in my experience trying to go to Mnar Park, can be a profound hindrance to participating in these leisure spaces that involve hypermobility along with other DVs. For Najat A., perhaps more blatantly than many other participants I hung out with, access to a car was a potent problem. On the evening she, her cousin Chaima and I went for a night out, automobility became relevant along several dimensions: from our ability to be mobile to reach the right consumption spaces to Najat's need for gendered insulation and protection from masculine dangers.

7.6.3.b. Fieldnote extract: Nighttime movements around Meknes, 16 August 2008

> cars cars cars: drague from cars, or hiding from it in a car. I'm feeling here the force of lack of car mobility on what Najat manages to do: yes we can get places by taxi, but it makes us a bit more vulnerable to things like catcalls, slowness, splitting up a group... she still frequents the same car-places but she has to mobilize in a different way to arrive. To go out to Aladdin (whose pronunciation baffled me until I saw the sign – /aladi~/ instead of /alaḍin/) we have to call the taxi driver she knows to come get us, and pay him extra for having come a long way at our request. Practically running from the house, partially because we're late, partially (i think) to avoid the crowd of men who are in the café we pass, and the whistles that follow us in Najat's short skirt and Chaima's little black dress. happily, the taxi is waiting.
> On the way, N wants to get a recharge for her phone...
> we pull up by a phone place just past bab elmansour but she hesitates to get out, asking Ch to go with her, then ending up with me going to get it. there are crowds of idle men on the street, and anything that came out of the taxi would be harassed but her probably more because of the miniskirt. the protection of the car is palpable – it's a mobile curtain between her and the surrounding men.
> All the places we go are distant, car places: Aladdin on the old road to fes, Dalia out near the marjane. not places you accidentally come across, places you have to make an effort in a vehicle to achieve. @ Aladdin, Ch's cousin Yacine comments on this: she says we came by taxi and his reaction is condoling, or slightly disbelieving: you will have a hard time leaving then... but no, we have the phone number for the taxi, we can call him.
> On the way to Aladdin, another example of car issues: we pass a car which N says is [male friend]'s car, stopped by police. we're all sure that he hasn't actually done anything wrong, it's just for the bribe...
> ...
> Music stops at 1:20, and it's unclear if the place is closed or just unanimated. the boys with us leave all together and we are left vulnerable: the guys at the

next table immediately start, inviting us to join them which prompts Ch to stand up like we're going somewhere, but we pull her back down. soon it seems clear that there's no point in staying, but we don't feel like going home... outside, the taxi is loyally waiting for us.
Start home, but talk to [male friend] midway and change course for Dalia [a nightclub in a distant hotel]. Ch says, on va pas rentrer en boite [we're not going back in a nightclub], which makes the irony of our position totally clear: don't want to go home but there's nowhere else to stay 'tranquil'.
N gives the driver a 100 and essentially says give me whatever change you think is correct. (i think she paid 70 for each trip)
Arriving at Dalia it's another man trap: hordes by the door at the right, so we ask driver to take us left, and we sit in the car waiting for [male friend] to arrive. A car arrives which N takes to be his, so we all get out; it wasn't. but our taxi leaves so we are stuck waiting in the cold. he arrives a moment later, turning left instead of right, and N calls him to tell him we are on the other side.
Coming over this way, his friends exit the car and enter the club; we get in his tight, overdone convertible with his little local cousin (what is he doing in the car anyway?) he takes us home...

Our night out began at Aladdin, an entertainment complex on the edge of Meknes (Image 37). It was unlike the nightclubs I had seen in Marrakech or Casablanca in that the admission price was the cost of one drink – twenty-five dirham – and alcohol was not served. In fact, it had almost a family atmosphere – I commented in the excised text that the atmosphere was 'like a wedding with no bride or groom', as there were mothers with their children as well as other young women veiled and unveiled, and teenagers and young men playing billiards and smoking shisha.

Image 37. Aladdin, outside of Meknes. 17 August 2008, 12:40am.

Aladdin is positioned remotely in terms of the city's social geography, on a road leading away by which taxi traffic does not pass very frequently. Its geographical position puts it among other car-accessible places, that are purposefully at some distance from more populated areas of the city, making them more difficult to reach without automobility. Yacine pitied us for being without transport, and the process of going to and coming from was made expensive and difficult because of our transport handicap. We managed to get there and leave reasonably efficiently because Najat knew to negotiate transportation in advance. She had her taxi waiting when we left the house, and again waiting when we were ready to leave, effectively hiring a chauffeur for the evening. The ample parking available there, and the dearth of taxis when we walked out, seem to indicate that it is the kind of place one goes to with transportation assured.

Our taxi substitutes for having our own car, both to transport us to Aladdin and back, and to enable Najat to leave the house and be protected. As a young, attractive woman, dressed for going out, there are men she does not want to see her – men on the street, men watching from cafés, men whom she cannot trust to

leave her in peace. In the terms that Noura laid out earlier in this chapter, discussing 'respectful' places where DV women feel that they won't be approached aggressively, the car becomes a conduit, providing a protective bubble transporting her body between nodes of viscosity.

Najat was in need of this three times during this evening. First, as we left her house and were forced to walk past the men in the café, they did not let our passage go unnoticed. Second, when we stopped for her to buy credit for her phone, she was unable to even get out of the car because of the certainty that she would be followed by catcalls on the street. This street was a central axis in Meknes, cutting through the old city and quite busy even at that late hour, but the (male) crowdedness made attention to her appearance more likely instead of less[35]. Finally, when we moved a second time, from Aladdin to the entrance of a nightclub at Hotel Dalia, we were left without any cover but the taxi from the men hanging out around the entrance. While the interiors of these places might afford protection against undesired gazes, the only protection on the exterior is inside a car. Instead of walking to the other side of the entrance to find her friend in his car, she telephoned him to tell him to come to us.

As much as Najat needed the car to protect herself, she needed to protect herself because she wanted to go out to car-accessible places. There were other places she could have gone by foot or by taxi. She could stay at her neighbor's house to chat, or easily go to the medina or other nearby and crowded places. Her consumption desires, however, are linked with affective hypermobility, as it is being practiced by her friends and acquaintances who were also moving around Meknes that day. Most of her energy was devoted to getting out of the house to enjoy herself, to see friends and experience her own leisure. On this day alone we had been out of the house for three separate consumption events: first out to the swimming pool, then out to the city around dinnertime, then again out to 'go out'. Being without her own car presented a significant problem for her. She had to manage her mobility by finding taxis or finding rides to get to the places other DVs frequent by private vehicle.

35. Why could I get out of the car when they couldn't? Not only was I not dressed very provocatively, but the rules that apply to those perceived to be Moroccan are not the same to those perceived to be foreign. That said, it would have been nice if the taxi driver had gone to get it.

All of these parts – the way Najat books her taxis, my uncertainty about how to get home, and Brahim's driving aimlessly – are interacting in the hypermobile dynamic of moving at will in Morocco. Without a car, Najat, and I as well, find it sometimes difficult to keep up with other DVs in their activities. She managed better than I by having a contact, a trusted taxi driver who works at night, whom she knows she can call when she is stuck. Yet that does not mean she does not run the risk of being immobile: if he does not answer the phone, is occupied or is not working that evening she is again left without transport. This was nearly the case at the end of the evening. When we arrived at Hotel Dalia, we waited in the taxi for Najat's friend who she wanted to meet. Thinking she saw his car, we all exited the taxi so he could leave, but she was mistaken. We spent a few minutes literally outside in the cold, not wanting to enter the nightclub but with possibility of neither protection nor mobility until her friend arrived.

Hypermobility, thus, becomes part of what keeps these viscous geographies sticking together and repels entities that cannot fit into its parameters. Noura and her gang made a path around Fes that night, and had done for numerous other nights around and outside of Fes, that cannot be tracked without being similarly mobile. Najat and Chaima struggled to keep up with others, making arrangements to be able to meet at the right place and the right time, and managing their mobility in between. Unprepared for finding myself at Mnar Park with no transportation, and unwilling to run the risk, I chose instead to remain in Brahim's car which gave me some insight onto his familial mode of hypermobility. Each of these practices latch onto viscous flows of hypermobile DV consumption as it moves collectively from one site to the next throughout the summer.

While hypermobility may seem distinctively 'touristic' as a practice, skimming the surface and stopping at sites of consumption, it is not exclusively a DV practice: the silent voices in these stories are the resident Moroccan families who may have been left behind disappointed, not otherwise having an opportunity for 'going out' like that apart from their visiting, automobile families. These family members are sometimes 'taken along' as participants, but their participation is uncertain. An example above is in Najat's story: her friend arrived to get us from Hotel Dalia with a young cousin as his passenger, too young to be entering a nightclub. It seemed like the boy had just come along for the ride, soon to be

dropped off before the driver would go out again. Other examples came up like a cousin who was brought along to the beach, or an aunt who was always around during the holiday (5.4.4.a); sometimes with obvious pleasure for all parties, and other times with mixed feelings.

One participant told me that these relationships with family who wait and hope for an outing are conflicting. The desire to please the family pulls for acquiescence, but once taken along in the car this family member becomes a burden. He or she will have to be provided for and made to feel a welcome participant in whatever activities by the hosts, who are implicitly obliged to pay all their costs. The ways DVs consume, spending their money by comparing costs favorably to EU prices, is usually unattainable for their locally resident families. It eventually becomes easier to avoid opening the car door to other family members, or to make specific decisions about who can accompany on what kinds of trips.

In that sense, hypermobility really does create a boundary – not only between DVs and the general public, but between DVs and their families. Their mobility may not be accessible to members of their resident families, independent of their help. Through repetition of their consumption practices, they eventually make themselves inaccessible as they continue on leisure pursuits with no room for family to accompany them. For the most part, however, DVs do not abandon their families. Towards the end of my fieldwork, as the summer was drawing to a close and people began preparing for return, I found more and more participants excused themselves from meeting me because they were devoting the remaining days to visiting family. Although it was frustrating as an ethnographer in the moment to have nothing to 'observe', I can now observe that the mobility of the holiday is shut down at some point to allow time to see family. Obviously, I was not invited to witness this, but that fact, in a sense, convinces me that these participants were doing what they said – going home to see family.

7.6.4. Material interruptions to movement: Being stopped and stopping traffic

Mixed with mobile consumption and hypermobility, the material presence of these congregating cars acquires its own intensity. At some point, mobility must be paused; the energetic feeling of hypermobility runs into barriers and blockages. The materiality of cars makes them visual extensions of DV embodimentality, as

well as objects that take up space, have accidents, move too fast, and impede each others progress. DV cars become a sight on the side of the road (Stewart 1996), or a stopping that happens, materially marking their presence in Morocco themselves and for resident Moroccans.

Like shop owners and taxi drivers who referred me to parking areas, other DVs commented on the presence or absence of cars. Sanae, who normally spends her time on the northern coast, remarked on how light the presence of DV cars was in Rabat. She was expecting at some point to see an influx of foreign cars, but it did not happen the same way as in Tangier (6 August 2008). Tangier, and other ports along the northern coast at Sebta, Al Hoceima and Nador, are the frontier customs points where all EU cars must pass (and be counted), so naturally there is a higher concentration there before they disperse into the rest of Morocco. That higher concentration makes them visible blockages in northern roadways, and creates material consequences:

7.6.4.a. Fieldnote extract: Debris, 17 July 2008

> Every time we go out on this day, we see an accident on the airport road going by their house. The one on the way back from coffee is the worst – 1 car flipped over, at least 2 others damaged on the other side of the road, and still clumps of people and police huddled around each other near the cars looking shocked and distressed. Brahim is talking to his father on the phone as we pass, and his father seems to ask where the cars are from, since Brahim replies that he can't see the license plates.

On this day, spent with Malika and her family in Tangier, automobile accidents were rampant. Their house was near the road leading from the center of Tangier to the airport, and on all of the three times we left the house that day we saw accidents on that road of varying severity, causing traffic backup in both directions. DV cars create temporary but stringent pressure on existing infrastructure that sometimes leads to fatalities. Brahim's father asks if Brahim can see the number plates on the fallen vehicles; the visibility of DVs through their cars is also a way of keeping track of friends and families, to see if 'someone we know' is involved.

Accidents are one familiar event at the side of the road. DV cars being stopped by police is another (Image 38).

Image 38. Crowd gathering as occupants of a French car argue with the police who stopped them. Castellejo (near border to Ceuta, Spain). 20 August 2008, 8pm

Brahim's drive to Ksar Sghir (7.6.2.c) did not conclude without interruption. As we left his grandfather's village and rejoined the road back into the center of Tangier, we were coasting down a hill when we were stopped by the police. The children woke up, and all three of the adult passengers became somehow more still. Coming up to the window, the police asked for Brahim's license and his customs certificate for the car, which he readily produced (along with, his wife later told me, one hundred dirham folded inside them). The police accused him of driving ten kilometers over the speed limit, but Brahim pointed out that he was clocked, somewhat unfairly, while coming down a hill. He exited the car briefly and walked back towards the police car, then returned and we drove off with everything apparently sorted.

Whether or not Brahim had exceeded the speed limit, the purpose of the stop was obvious to everyone, including, as Souad later told me, another officer to whom Brahim spoke while he was out of the car. He may have paid more of a bribe to the other officer; in any case, that officer released him without a ticket and his papers were returned to him before he got back in the car.

Traffic stops like these are not uncommon. Driving on different roads, in different cities during the summer, it is normal to see cars stopped at certain points and notice that the number plate is foreign. Najat saw it on the way to Aladdin and we knew what was going on: 'we're all sure that he hasn't actually done anything wrong, it's just for the bribe...' (7.6.3.b). Fedwa and Amina's discussion in chapter 5 (5.4.2.b) about Fedwa's brother being stopped by the police provides an empirical example of reactions to being stopped. From their conversation, there is a sense of the understood unfairness of this system, but also their ability to surmount it. Fedwa's brother is not daunted by the police pressure; he responds appropriately, but resistant. She points out that they behavior of the police will not encourage DVs to return – precisely why the King discourages corruption. Yet DV automobiles seem to be a magnet for this kind of attention. Being in highly visible cars, marked by their number plates as well as by expensive makes and models, renders their extended embodimentality an easy target for resident Moroccans to resistance to their 'arrogance' and hypermobility by stopping them.

Some DVs see ways of using this kind of police agenda to their advantage.

7.6.4.b. Fieldnote extract: Breaking rules, 9 August 2008

> At McDonald's in Marrakech, with the Belgian group: Naima, Yunis, Moustapha and Hamid...
> then Moustapha & I sent to get the car, while Naima gets a milkshake (after more french guys draguent her at the entrance)
> (here convo abt driving rules transgression) M tells me, it's because you can't get away with those things in belgium: there you would get a 1000EU fine, here you pay the police 10 euro and they don't care. He says "it's corruption" but it works for them
> freedom of driving around: getting into the car, I'm struck at the rush of independent-feeling. many of the cars around us are other EU, so we have music loud and our license plate proudly screaming our point of origin - it's a American Graffiti-esque sort of means of interaction, recognizing and judging each other based on the metal body encasing.
> further proof: M's way of driving, which is contrary to the slow, semi-cautiousness of local drivers. when we are thru the light, racing down the straight blvd with no apparent traffic, letting the speed subside...
> Yunis says M does all the driving - Yunis doesn't like to drive in Morocco
> ... ((We drop Naima at her house))
> back to main part of the city, down [Blvd Mohammed VI looking for a café to sit in...
> a whole conversation about driving - they don't like the way Moroccan drivers change lanes / use lanes, how people use their big lights (brights) all the time, and there are too many obstacles you can't see, people on the road etc. however, so many things they can get away with doing, that one doesn't do elsewhere.

Moving at will pushes limits. Moustapha, the designated driver of this party of young, independent DVs, takes advantage of the corruption to drive the way he would like to in Belgium and know that he does not risk losing his license because of it. He proved his style shortly thereafter: driving towards Naima's house in an outer neighborhood, he took advantage of the late night and nearly empty streets to enjoy the rush of fast movement. As the fieldnote describes, it reminded me of the 'car culture' (Miller 2001b) sense of being identified through a prosthetic metal body and the movements and sounds it makes. I had the same feeling driving around Fes with Noura and her friends (7.6.3.a). On both nights, our presence seemed to be felt through driving: the speed and the music blaring combine to force sleeping houses to wake up and wonder who is driving by. Moustapha sped past other drivers, but did not put us in real danger. There is no doubt, however, that he announced his presence through his potentially dangerous acts, even though no police came chasing after us.

The conversation we had at the café after dropping Naima off reflected some of the different attitudes other DVs have reported about driving in Morocco. Many consider it to be categorically more dangerous than driving in the EU because of many of the reasons the three men gave to me: obstacles in the road, like smaller vehicles, pedestrians and animals who have no separate track to walk, and the lack of defined lanes (another reason why many people chose to use the motorways instead of normal roads). But they can get away with things they might otherwise not do; and doing those things makes resident Moroccan drivers call them 'dangerous'. Part of their moving around at will is breaking rules that they would not break at 'home', not knowing or perhaps not minding that these rules still apply on roads where they don't understand some of the local rules:

7.6.4.c. Fieldnote extract: Revving cars, 8 August 2008

> we are at pacha until closing at 5am, then the car game starts:
> everyone coming from parkedness, racing down the wide boulevard and showing off driving skills - weaving, skid turns.
> i see Moustapha weaving their car in and out of others down the blvd, get Yunis in the car, then go around again... and Sanae and I are out.

Sanae and I, being typical tourists without a car, got into a taxi to get home from Pacha that morning. Being situated on a new, wide boulevard, outside the city, the road in front of Pacha was completely empty apart from the departing club-goers.

Moustapha and Yunis could take advantage of their freedom from consequence to continued playing with their car there, on the edge of the city.

Yet DV cars take up space in Morocco, creating radiating effects in multiplicity, that might impact on individuals they with whom they might never come in contact. As their cars pour into and pour out of Morocco, their added volume visibly and materially slows traffic to a standstill in some places for two months of the year (Image 39).

Image 39. Police redirecting traffic from the Avenue d'Espagne, Tangier.

7.6.4.d. Fieldnote extract: Stopped traffic, 21 August 2008

> leaving Tangier on 21 august, and the traffic was noticeably thicker than when I looked before. took some pics with my phone by the port, but as I walked further down along the beach, more and more traffic, and finally police officers with a blockade in the middle of the road. They were preventing people from turning towards the port, asking drivers if they are 'musafrin' [travelers] or not. I imagine they were using the longeur of the avenue as a way of controlling the queue, like an amusement park ride.
> all of the arteries towards the port looked blocked - not stalled, but definitely slow.

Image 40. Traffic for the Tangier port, Avenue d'Espagne, Tangier.

At the very last turn, DV cars moving towards the port in Tangier cause miles of backup and cause the city to block off a major road – the main road that lines the waterfront along the bay – to provide some organization for the traffic (Image 40). They were turning away local drivers to find alternate routes, while they turned 'travelers' into the queue. DV automotive presence is as visible going out as it is coming in, but somehow more so; the cars coming in spread so quickly across Morocco that they may only stop in Tangier less than an hour, but the progress of their exit on this particular day was so congested that they were undoubtedly waiting more than an hour, even two. The new port at Tangier Med, directly linked to motorways leading off in other directions, will change the dynamics of this entrance and exit. The presence of DVs, however, will inevitably still be felt through their automobility and the viscous movements of separation and stopping it creates at the side of the road.

7.7. Conclusion

As leisure consumers who return frequently to Morocco, and come to have intimate knowledge of it as a *place* as much as through their *descent*, DVs choose to occupy semi-exclusive environments where they can be consumers of leisure commensurate with their European-based lifestyles. They seek sites that are clean and safe, in multiple senses: free from dangerous uncleanliness that causes digestive problems; or protected from unsettling aggressive male gazes; or offering clearly marked choice and better maintenance standards than alternative consumption options. Sometimes these options are located within walking distance; other times in an entirely different region.

Along with the consistency and standard of consumption experience, DVs inevitably find each other in these consumption spaces, adding a self-sustaining network of sociality to their motivation to 'go out'. Being outside of – and acting in opposition to – the *attachment* and potential boredom of the familial home, 'going out' emerges as their central activity while on holiday. They want to spend their holidays being 'on vacation', participating in leisure consumption that is fun and inexpensive, but also 'being-Moroccan' by visiting, appreciating, traveling around, and soaking up the sun in Morocco. Most importantly, they want to 'be-Moroccan' with others like them. Yet they do not dispel all sense of *attachment*, instead reserving it for times and spaces alongside *insha'allah* leisure consumption. They are motivated as much by family as by fun, as both are intensively part of embodying being on holiday. They spend their time going out, but make sure to come home before the holiday is over.

The way DVs come to access these places reflects their 'DV-ness' while in Morocco. As 'Europeans', they have the financial capital to spend on leisure consumption, but as 'Moroccans' they seek ways to avoid obligations implied by their *attachment* to Morocco. They develop an *insha'allah*, touristic, spontaneous, leisure-orientated feeling of 'being in Morocco', full of exciting automobility, hard-won autonomy, and potential encounters of all kinds. Moving through viscous DV geographies around Morocco responds to the specific attributes of their experience as diasporic and as visitors. Naim and Otman summarize this feeling of being both at home and embedded in *descent*, but in a *place* that is rife with excitement:

7.7.a. Interview extract: A story every day

Naim and Otman B, Antwerpen, 24 March 2008, 2min		
1	N	you=know, **actually** we have a boring vacation/ just doing the same/ **every** day/ **every** year.
2	LW	then why- why keep go back? then/
3	N	because we have to!=we have our family there. (1.0) an- an- and: e-o-u- we- can go to a place, we don't have e-eh: to pay eh- a hotel,
4	LW	yeah
5	N	we don't have/ you know, all that stuff. if you wanna go o- if you wanna eat at home, we don't have- you know/ we don't have to pay it, so actually, (.5 .h) and you meet a lot of **friends**, all your **cousins** you meet there/ (.) and you have every day beautiful weather, (1.5) °so:°
6	O	it's not eh:: just about eh::m (1.8 .h) it's true we do do- do eh: the same things every day, but (.6) every day is **another** day. so:: it's quite fun actually/ if you just- with- with all the:: **cousins** and **friends**, (.9) so::=eh: there- there happens a- a- a **l[ot** so::
7	N	[a **lot**, yeah/ (.3) every day hap- happens **some**thing
8	O	yeah:/ [every day is eh: like an experience, eh: you **never** forget something/ it's- really fun. real fun.
((10 turns excised))		
9	LW	like what? like e-
10	N	like ok: uh/ the next day we meet each other and we talk about ok, I we- I went last night with my **other cousins** da=da=**da**: we went to **there**, we arrived at that **city**#, (.5) you know/ that what's happened you know/ then we had a **fight**, then eh- (.4) then we had some trouble with the **police**, and we had to run **away**, and they- (.3) you know/ all those (.) stories.
11	LW	yeah. yeah.
12	N	**every**body has a story **every d[ay**
13	O	[day [ahhhehehehehe
14	LW	[hahahahah
15	N	and we're not lying too/ because **every** day **something** happens [(.8) every day.

8. Conclusions and Interventions

8.1. Crossing back over the border

8.1.a. Fieldnote extract: Crossing back to Europe, 20 August 2008

> arriving at the border, unbelievably, I find [family C] who are regrouping before joining the queue. Sabah first, of course, in pink marrakshia and black round-tied headscarf. they were waiting for her sister's car, which is now there, so almost ready to depart. I only have time to say hello to everyone (Amina is really surprised to see me, I'm equally surprised to see them.)
> they left late (11am instead of 8) had lunch at a spot on the way and are now here at 7/7:15pm. mom has been crying, and I wonder if it is because she's leaving her family, but Amina says it's because her father was driving too hard (fast) and it upsets her. they are off shortly after.

As I stated at the outset, this story has been an ethnography of summer holiday. As a periodic story, repeating in a pattern on an annual cycle, it has openings and closings that draw around again to the next opening. Rounding off the excitement of departing towards Morocco is the disappointment and resignation of returning home. Running into family C at this anticlimactic moment, part way through their long drive back to Holland, was my only view into the denouement of this story, and serves to frame the denouement of my version of it.

My encounter with them was enabled by the viscous spaces DVs make in, through, and around Morocco. The border zone is difficult to access without the intention to cross it: this particular space, at the border between the Moroccan town of Castellejo and the Spanish territory of Ceuta, is two kilometers from the city center, surrounded by a no-man's-land of barricades and police officers, separating territorial Morocco from territorial Spain. Externally-resident families, crossing back and forth on European passports, constitute a great number of the bodies moving through this space, and make it a place, out of all the territorial space of Morocco, where it is likely I might run into someone I know.

This viscous quality of a diasporic space in Morocco is the central notion I will discuss in this conclusion. It is not a state that is hinted at in any of the diaspora, migration, or tourism literature that I depended on in developing this thesis. Getting around to viscosity, however, requires following the trajectory I took to get there: from engaging with a literature based on categories towards one based on multiplicities.

The inclusion of viscosity in this analysis depended on my empirical approach: something like it, but unnamed, became apparent during fieldwork because I was concentrating on *what* participants did, ethnomethodologically, rather than *why* they did it, or rather why they would claim to do so in a recorded interview. My main critique of most migration and diaspora literature is precisely that it so often relies on recorded interview settings, with relatively little or no ethnographic information to contextualize the attitudes described in them. The story that these two qualitative approaches continuously tell researchers is that people may say something very different than what they practice, and both the tellings and the practices can be informative when recognized as parts of a more complex story. While I do not claim to have developed a complete and absolute story of what this holiday is, I can claim to have developed a story related to the practices I observed being repeated in significant numbers, combining into viscosity.

I started calling what I observed 'viscosity' after reading Arun Saldanha's *Psychedelic White*. Saldanha's 'viscosity' described an itinerant community of ravers, all connected to a 'white' advanced capitalist culture of music, drugs, and consumption. The 'viscosity' I observed, building from his formulation, relies on a notion of assemblage applied to a context that is 'diasporic', representing a break from previous definitions of 'diaspora'. This 'diasporic' is interactional and emergent through practice as opposed to definitional of a community. It depends on a series of events in connection to one another: a migration from a homespace to a new place (however distant), a settling in to that new homespace while remaining somehow connected with the former one, and, as Doreen Massey and Sarah Ahmed describe, finding oneself with an inability to 'return' to the time and space previously inhabited. These events distill down towards, in my experience, idealized notions of *descent* and *place*, which become meaningfully specific in interaction.

I found *descent* and *place* more diffuse, and therefore more useful, attractors than any of the traditional categories like ethnicity, race, racialization, religious affiliation, or nation. As one is constantly reminded, in article after article debating the use of these terms, they seem to have broadly applicable definitions, which

then break down in everyday practice. From my perspective, reading DeLanda, these breakdowns are effects of nonlinearity, in that such categories are imagined to be fixed but need to be treated as ephemeral. It is easy to label all of the participants in this research as 'Moroccan' – as I myself unfortunately reproduce, for the sake of efficient references in writing, by labeling individual positionalities through ethno-national terms. Categorical terminology makes it easier to talk about large groups, and assign characteristics to their members. In contrast, my use of *descent* and *place* as dimensions of diasporicness is an attempt to reframe categorical systems as an unfixable matrix. Ideas of *descent* are relevant to being of a nation, an ethnicity, a race, or a religious group, as much as ideas of *place* influence how that sense of being and/or belonging emerges through practice. In this diasporic context, the workings *descent* and *place*, always in motion, become more visible because we encounter more nonlinear mappings, where beings and belongings should match up predictably but for some reason do not.

My notion of 'diasporic' is predicated on the ability of individuals to be nonlinear, or rather to be multiple, composed of seemingly fixed and bounded entities that are both porous and diffuse. Yet, it also recognizes the ability of discourses of 'nation', or ideas of commonality central to a community to be powerful, cohesive, and confining. While the bodies I describe are multiple, they can be constrained through materialities that are more fixed than malleable. For example they are, and will always be, 'Moroccan' bodies because of their single-step ordinal distance from parents who are unquestionably – by *descent* and by *place* – Moroccan. Whether or not they embrace that connection, they are coerced into locating themselves in relation to 'being-Moroccan' or 'not-being-Moroccan' because their 'Moroccanness' pre-exists their bodies. 'Moroccanness' is a given, because of their heritage; 'Dutchness', 'Frenchness', or 'Belgianness' (or other like collectivities) are construed as additional, or strange, when practiced in 'Moroccan' bodies. Discourses describing the perilous identities of second-generation migrants as 'divided' are a result, I would argue, of a failure to recognize the ability of individuals to be multiple.

Engaging this notion of diasporic as a practice also pushed me towards an unfixed notion of 'Moroccanness' that seems only feasible in an assemblage

framework. Assemblage presupposes circulation, in contrast to the majority of other social science frameworks that assume a norm of reproduction, fixity, or mimesis. Conceiving of 'Moroccanness' and 'Europeanness' in assemblage renders them collectivizations of entities that become accidentally or willfully attracted to each other. Effectively, they become viscous and seemingly fixed through the actions, practices, and motivations of entities at many layers, and exist as such because of their relevance to individuals who enact them. I cannot categorize 'Moroccanness' as an ethnicity, nationality, or racial identity because it is both none and all of them simultaneously. Following Rogers Brubaker, I am advocating a move away from dividing these concepts along arbitrary or location-specific lines, and for embracing them as indistinct and nebulous. Their quality of diffuseness can be informative about the way that they work as concepts: the edges where one turns into another shows something about the attracting center.

So, when I observed individuals of Moroccan origin; or second generation Moroccans from France, Belgium and the Netherlands; or diasporic visitors; or however they might be called, going on holiday in Morocco, this practice informed me about how they manage to be both 'Moroccan' and 'French'/'Belgian'/'Dutch'. Through this practice, and their embodimentalities inhabiting their ostensibly 'Moroccan' bodies, they encountered edges and limits to how they fit in territorial Morocco. Clearly, they also encounter such boundaries in how they fit in Europe, which result in practices that enable them to function there. The practices I observed, recorded and analyzed, however, relate to how 'Moroccanness' becomes a focalizing attractor, in how by going to Morocco there is a movement towards becoming-Moroccan.

Yet this movement encounters friction. Part of being diasporic is the inability to inhabit the perfect ideal of the dwelling, presumably non-mobile member of the resident reference community in either home. This process and practice of becoming (and failing to become) is what I discussed as *passing* in chapter 6. I chose that word very carefully, with its associations with seemingly indelible characteristics like race and gender as part of the signification bundled with it. *Passing* is about approaching an edge or boundary zone where a body might become something else, to the extent to which it is capable of doing so. The

implications of race and gender in this context relate to the fixity and malleability of bodies: while these bodies are phenotypically Moroccan, they are in other ways embodied as not-Moroccan, reflecting their ability to be multiple as material, immaterial, actual and virtual assemblages. The fact that this behavior can be pathologized as *passing* – that it becomes a fight to be seen as 'Moroccan' rather than a smooth inhabitation as 'semi-Moroccan' – recognizes the power of fixity in determining the pathways open to bodies. My aim, in thinking about *passing* as a part of a productive hybridity is to reinsert this practice within the rights of a body to be malleable and multiple. Practically, however, this does not seem to be realized: in response to continuous and problematic attempts at *passing*, diasporic visitors like those discussed here seem to fall into a separating viscosity.

Much in the same way I struggled with ethnicity and nationality as terms for considering the phenomena I observed in this holiday timespace, class and *habitus* were terms that became problematic in this analyzing process. It would be simple to say that diasporic visitors had 'jumped a class', so to speak, by nominally departing Morocco as children of rural, lower income parents and returning as medium to high income adult earners, spending their money liberally while on holiday. Then, their habits of frequenting cafés and nightclubs, exclusive beaches and hotel pools, and driving around Morocco in their own cars could be read as simply class *habitus* and consumption. Using the idea of viscosity enabled me to speak more specifically to how this so-called *habitus* is a becoming. It moves around Morocco, picking up objects, people, places, and forms of *hexis*, sometimes leaving them behind. It is a temporary timespace, as though it were a 'class' that only exists for the ten weeks of the summer where diasporic Moroccans appear in numbers. Saldanha conceives of this phenomenon in Goa as linked to advanced capitalism and specific (white) bodies that are perceived to emerge from it. My data, however, points to how this advanced capitalist whiteness is not explicitly racial. It is inevitably linked to racializations, inasmuch as the consumption habits of diasporic visitors are read as 'being-European', but linking it too explicitly to a racialization through terminology is misleading. It would imply that these individuals are 'becoming-white' – which they may be, in a radical way, while in Morocco, but are not while in Europe, where distinctions between 'Moroccan' and

'European' are still a source of struggle. This emergence is intensely related to practices of consumption, expectations of quality, perceptions of personal comfort and speeds through which individuals are accustomed to moving through their environments – all of which are related to *place* much more than *descent*. Viscosity terminologically allows for a becoming that is separating and specific, like class distinction, but also innately porous and shifting, not dependent on pre-determined taxonomic formations, with a tendency to stick together and flow through.

I continue to frame this viscosity through diasporic action because it is, inevitably, connected to the rupture of migration. Any migration – to another city, another country, another continent – represents a rupture of some magnitude, shaping the distance between steps in an ordinal sequence. Something is left behind while something else is gained. In this case, an idealized 'Moroccanness' is left behind, in the unlived virtual path of children who did not grow up in Morocco (like their cousins), while other aspects are gained: European passports, consumption habits, education, social welfare, and tastes. While in Morocco, diasporic visitors encounter a choice when they are interacting with others: to try to be 'Moroccan' (and fail), or to stick with what is familiar, with other diasporic Moroccan-Europeans coming from similar trajectories. Because this visit takes place as a 'holiday' – a timespace in which visitors are seeking fun, plain and simple – the easier choice becomes hanging out with like-minded, equally consumption-oriented familiar people. This is not to suggest that diasporic visitors do not see their families, or that family is not an important part of this holiday. Rather, as my data have shown, family is only part of it, and other aspects of the visit take up much more. In the same way that bodies can be multiple, 'home' can be appreciated in multiple ways, through both familial visits and leisure consumption. In the end, embarking on this holiday is a practice, motivated by practical decision-making that calculates resources, like time, money, enjoyment, family, leisure, friends, hassles, mentalities, beaches, and sun, in order to choose what holiday to take this year. In essence, going 'home' to Morocco is a diasporic practice of viscosity, that takes into account the place as home and the collectivity inhabiting it temporarily, contributing to the formation of that timespace every summer.

8.2. Future Research

Conceiving of diasporic return in this way, through explicitly practical and practiced means, is one of the central ideas I would like to push forward in future research. Too much of what is discussed about the 'second generation' problematizes their 'identities', and repeats the same claim that they are at home nowhere. What is more important, at this historical juncture, is to consider practical implications of how this ordinal rupture plays out. For example, diasporic visitors in Morocco clearly contribute enormously to the Moroccan economy, but their contribution is difficult to track. They spend at touristic places as much as they might at more 'local' businesses, because they can move between nodes with reasonable ease. Given the state's interest in promoting diasporic investment, their attitudes and orientations about what they spend in Morocco have enormous implications for future development in that economy. This question becomes even more elaborate as time passes, and the 'second' generation progresses towards 'third' and 'fourth' ones. I suspect that Morocco will continue to be a destination, to the extent that parents instill the habit of visiting, but the activities of these visits will undoubtedly shift. This perspective on economic impact and its practical importance for development applies to other countries with similar migration patterns and diasporic involvement. I am curious to follow this unorganized form of economic contribution as it shifts.

In addition, the theoretical development of this project has led me towards further interrogation of the ability of bodies to be multiple. I was frustrated by the existing terminology for discussing embodiment as *habitus* or as *hexis*, or just 'embodied', which are relatively unspecific. At the other end of the spectrum, some authors used morphological approaches to movement, in order to convey precise bodily kinetics through textual description. What I feel is more necessary is a means of identifying embodied differences that become relevant in interaction, much the way the linguistic analysis above examines linguistic elements that become relevant in conversation. Unfortunately, it is often very difficult to describe in words the instincts or feelings that become relevant in a body. To advance the theoretical aspects of this project, I plan to pursue further exploration of embodied interaction in order to find ways to discuss how bodies can be multiple, and can become relevant in specific ways in relationship with one another.

As a final note, I wish to thank all of the participants again for donating their time and opinions to this project. I was around for the beginnings of relationships, and their ends, and sadly accompanied one grandmother on her last crossing over the Mediterranean. Undoubtedly, the significance of these holidays is much greater to those to whom Morocco is part of their ancestral familial landscape than they are to me. My efforts to examine this practice were undertaken in hopes of producing more profound understanding of its importance, and hopefully to result in constructive aftereffects for those who visit 'home'.

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Appendix 1: 'Entre Deux'

Sniper, 'Entre Deux', featuring Leila Rami

Tunisiano mon blaze	Tunisiano my handle
j'ai pour pays d'origine	I have for country of origin
la France là ou je crèche	France, there where I was coddled
où on me reproche mes origines	where they reproach my origins
j'ai grandi loin de mon pays	I grew up far from my country
et on me l'a trop souvent reproché	and they have too often reproached me
on a trop souvent prétendu	they have too often pretended
que je les avais trahis, hé ma couille	that I betrayed them, hey my ass
ici c'est pas l'bled	here is not the homeland
où ça pue l'embrouille	where it stinks of intrigue
et en scred	and secrets
même là-bas j'suis dans la merde	even there I'm in shit
c'est comme chaque été	it's like every summer
dès que tu me vois tu dis škun	when you see me you say who
regards froids sifflotement	cold looks shivers
v'là l'étranger dans le saloon	there's the stranger in the salon
monsieur Tounsi	Mr Tunisian
smaʿt mānīš jīʿān	you understand I'm not hungry
u tāk əlḥatta u šbaʿt	and you're eating till you're full
b əlʿīn mtāʿ jīrān	with the eyes of the neighbors
ici un danger	here a danger
là-bas j'suis un intru	there I'm an intruder
et là ou j'aimerai m'ranger	and there where I'd like to put myself
j'suis vu comme un étranger	I'm seen as a stranger
donc j'suis perdu	so I'm lost
et en plus j'suis pas le bienvenu	and more I'm not welcome
où on se méfie des barbus	where they are afraid of beards
d'Oussama à Robert Hue	from Osama to Robert Hue
toi aussi t'es dans mon cas?	you too you're like me?
un blème de pedigree	a fault of pedigree
j'ai du mal à m'intégrer	I can't integrate myself
que se soit ici ou là-bas	neither here nor over there
(Refrain sung by Leila Rami, repeated twice)	
qālu li ʿarbi	they say I'm an Arab
mānīš f blādi	I'm not in my country
qālu li rūmi	they say I'm French/European
yāk f blādi ya wəldi	you're in my country my son

ḫūya blādi šūfni ṛāni ʿarbi ḥāsni mānīš rūmi rāk aḥmastni ḫallātni nġazzəl kunt ʿāqəl mən luwwəl wallət tbəddəl kunt taʿrəfni wəld škūn mlīḥ āy wāla la u qūl li mənna āš bīk mā tḥabbnīš ḫāṭər ma naḥkīš b əlgda ḫāṭərni mən bārīz u naʿməl fi ləġna ma kbərtš ġādi u ṭūlət hna w əssīf ki nži taḥqərni ʿəlāžnəb āḥi āš bīk mā taʿməlš u ḫəyyād aʿžəb rāni kīfək āy hāt əlḫubz ṭābūn u ləhrīsa u lmaʿžūn rāni nsūm ḍammi sḫūn ahna qālu li ʿarbi u naʿməl fi ləfsa u ġādi qālu li rūmi u mānīš wuld əlblād rāni mānīš aʿdu ma taḥtarnīš ma taḥqarnīš hayya qūmu u būs ḫuk	my brother look at me I'm Arab I'm not French/European you left me dejected I was wiser before you started to change you knew whose son I was right yes or no or tell me why what's with you, you don't love me because I don't talk right because I'm from Paris and I'm a singer I didn't grow up there and I was born here and in summer when I come you hate the foreigner brother what's wrong, you don't like the choice surprise I'm like you give the bread and the harissa and the jam I'm fasting my blood is hot here they say Arab and I'm on a bad path and there they say I'm French/European and not a son of the homeland I'm not an enemy you don't choose me and don't hate me come on embrace your brother
(Refrain repeated twice)	

intru à la même couleur de peau	intruder of the same skin color
c'qui gêne c'est mes défauts	what blocks me are my faults
ce manque d'efforts en gros	this lack of effort overall
et tout ces chi-chi en trop	and too many airs
chaud pour s'intégrer	hot/hard to integrate
chaud pour climatique	hot/hard for climate
chaud car excentrique	hot/hard cause it's off center
là ou le respect est sacré	there where respect is sacred
pour mes frères arabes	for my Arab brothers
quel fils d'immigré	what an immigrant's son
ceux qui vivent loin de leur terre	those who live far from their land
et qui s'y sentent rejeter	and feel rejected from it
rester ici c'est mort	staying here is death
là-bas c'est cramé	there is burnt out
alors où est ma place?	so where is my place?
dans la Méditerranée	in the Mediterranean
ca c'est inouï ici	it's unprecedented here
ni famille ni amis patrie	no family nor friends homeland
y'a qu'au pays	it's only in that country
que je vois ma mère épanouie	that I see my mom light up
et c'est fou	and it's crazy
la où les te-trai sont des zin-cous	there where the snitches are cousins
pas de peace	no peace
mais la tête du raïs partout	but the face of the president everywhere
ou les condés sont des ouf	where the cops are nuts
pour presque rien on t' boucle	for practically nothing they grab you
tu la ferme et tu la boucle	you shut it and you grab it
où on joue pas avec la bouffe	where we don't play with food
c'est tant pis pour les faux	it's too bad for the fakes
merci pour les vrais	thanks for the honest ones
en France j'suis qu'un immigré	in France I'm just an immigrant
au bled j'suis qu'un français	and at home I'm just French
naḥki m əlbəldān	I'm talking to my neighbors
tūnəs əlḥaḍṛa	the green Tunisia
lǧəzāyər lmaġrəb u lblād əlgwərra	Algeria Morocco and all French countries
naḥki m əlbəldān	I'm talking to my neighbors
tūnəs əlḥaḍṛa	the green Tunisia
lǧəzāyər lmaġrəb u lblād əlgwərra	Algeria Morocco and all French countries
(Refrain repeated four times)	

Appendix 2 : Questionnaires

French Questionnaire

Chercheuse : Lauren WAGNER l.wagner@ucl.ac.uk
Ce questionnaire est anonyme.

Quel âge avez-vous ? ____ Etes-vous : un homme / une femme

Vous êtes titulaire d'un passeport de quel(s) pays ?

Maroc / France / Belgique / Pays-Bas / Allemagne / Italie / Espagne / Autre _____

Depuis quel âge habitez-vous dans votre pays de résidence actuel? (encerclez)

la naissance / entre 0-4 ans / entre 5-9 ans / entre 10-15 ans / après 16 ans

Dans quelle ville ou quelle région êtes-vous résident en Europe? _____

Êtes-vous titulaire d'une carte nationale marocaine? *Oui / Non*

De quelle ville ou quelle région au Maroc venait votre mère ? _____votre père ? _____

Quelle région au Maroc visitez-vous le plus souvent ? _____

Comment décrivez-vous vos pratiques religieuses ?

très pratiquant / pratiquant / peu pratiquant / pas pratiquant / pas religieux/se

II. Les habitudes linguistiques
Indiquez, parmi les langues dans la liste, celle(s) que vous parlez :
***Langues marocaines**: l'arabe marocain / le tachelhit / le tarifit / le tamazight*
***Langues européennes**: le français / le néerlandais / le flamand / l'italien / l'espagnol / l'allemand / l'anglais / Autre ?* _____

Je parle …	*Ma/mes langue(s) marocaine*(s) Toujours ---------- jamais					*Ma/mes langue(s) européenne(s)* Toujours ---------- jamais				
en famille	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
avec des amis en Europe	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
avec des amis au Maroc	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
avec des inconnus au Maroc	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1

Pour moi, ça c'est …	facile----------difficile				
comprendre des conversations des autres hors de la famille au Maroc	1	2	3	4	5
tenir toute une conversation dans une langue marocaine	1	2	3	4	5

Commentaires sur mes langues :

_____

Quelle(s) langue(s) souhaitez-vous transmettre (ou transmettez-vous) à vos enfants ?

Selon quelle fréquence visitez-vous le Maroc habituellement ? (encerclez)

plus que 1 fois par an / annuel / tout les 2 ans / tout les 3-5 ans

Avez-vous visité des régions en dehors de la région où vous allez habituellement ?

Marrakech / Fès / Meknes / Casablanca / Rabat / Agadir / Essaouira / Tanger / Tetouan / Nador / Oujda / Ouarzazate / Sahara / autre _____

Avec qui les avez-vous visité ? Encerclez et indiquez la région visitée :

en famille / avec des amis / avec mon/ma partenaire / en voyage organisé

Voudriez-vous voyager davantage au Maroc ? *Oui / Non*

Si oui, où ?_____

Souhaitez-vous vivre au Maroc pour une période de plus de 2 ans? *Oui / Non*

Souhaitez-vous amener vos enfants au Maroc pour les visites régulières? *Oui / Non*

IV. Les habitudes de la consommation

Quels endroits fréquentez-vous pendant les vacances d'été ? (encerclez)

plage / boîte de nuit / café / marché / piscine / espaces touristiques / les maisons familiales / autre_____

Avec qui les fréquentez-vous? (encerclez)

frères et sœurs / cousins / amis d'Europe / amis du Maroc / avec des parents

Quels achats ramenez-vous en U.E. ? (encerclez)

nourriture / vêtements / objets décoratifs / objets en cuir / livres / journaux / objets d'art / musique / films / autre:_____

Où les achetez-vous ? (encerclez)

au souk hebdomadaire / au marché au centre ville (medina) / au centre commercial / au souk d'artisanat / aux vendeurs de bord de route / autre: _____

V. La participation

Si vous êtes disponible à participer davantage à ce projet de recherche, inscrivez votre numéro de téléphone et / ou votre adresse email. (Ces infos n'apparaîtront pas dans les résultats de ce questionnaire.)

_____

Hoe oud bent u? _____ Bent u: een man / een vrouw

Van welk land(en) heeft u een paspoort? (omcirkel)

Marokko / Frankrijk / België / Nederland / Duitsland / Italië / Spanje / Andere___

Vanaf welke leeftijd woont u in het land waar u actueel verblijft?

Geboorte / tussen 0-4 jaar / tussen 5-9 jaar / tussen 10-15 jaar / na 16 jaar

In welke stad of regio verblijft u momenteel in Europa?_____

Heeft u een Marokkaanse identiteitskaart (carte nationale)? *Ja/Nee*

Uit welke stad of regio in Marokko is uw moeder afkomstig?_____uw vader?____

Welke regio in Marokko bezoekt u het vaakst? _____

Hoe zou u uw religieuze praktijken beschrijven :

zeer praktiserend / praktiserend / weinig praktiserend / niet praktiserend / niet religieus

II. Taalgewoontes

Omcirkel uw Marokkaanse en uw Europese talen :

Marokaanse Talen : *Marokkaans-Arabisch / Tachelhit / Tarifit / Tamazight*

Europese Talen : *Nederlands / Vlaams / Frans / Italiaans / Spaans / Duits / Engels / Andere?* _____

Ik spreek …	*Mijn **Marokkaanse** taal/talen*					*Mijn **Europese** taal/talen*				
	altijd ---------- nooit					altijd ---------- nooit				
In familieverband	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Met vrienden in Europa	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Met vrienden in Marokko	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
Met onbekenden in Marokko	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1

Voor mij, is het...	gemakkelijk---------- moeilijk				
begrijpen van conversaties van mensen, buiten de familie om, in Marokko	1	2	3	4	5
houden van een volledig gesprek in mijn Marokkaanse taal	1	2	3	4	5

Verdere commentaar op mijn talen (optioneel):

_____

Welke taal (of talen) wenst u door te geven of geeft u nu al door aan uw kinderen ?

_____

III. Reisgewoontes

Hoe vaak gaat u gewoonlijk naar Marokko? (omcirkel)

Meer dan eens per jaar / jaarlijks één keer / om de twee jaar / elke 3-5 jaar

Heeft u andere regio's bezocht buiten de regio waar u gewoonlijk naar toe gaat ?

Marrakech / Fes / Meknes / Casablanca / Rabat / Agadir / Essaouira / Tanger / Tetouan / Nador / Oujda / Ouarzazate / Sahara / andere _____

Met wie heb je deze bezocht ? (omcirkel)

met familie / met vrienden / met mijn partner / in georganiseerd reisverband

Zou u in andere regio's in Marokko willen reizen? *Ja / Nee*

Waar ? _____

Zou u langer dan twee jaar in Marokko willen wonen? *Ja / Nee*

Zou u uw kinderen voor regelmatig bezoek naar Marokko willen meenemen? *J / N*

IV. Consumptiegewoontes

Welke plekken bezoekt u gedurende de zomervakantie? (omcirkel)

strand / discotheek / café / markt / zwembad / toeristische plaatsen / huizen van familie / andere _____

Met wie gaat u ernaartoe? (omcirkel)

broers en zussen / neven en nichten / vrienden uit Europa / vrienden uit Marokko / ouders

Welke aankopen brengt u mee naar de EU? (omcirkel)

voeding / kleding / decoratieve zaken / lederwaren / boeken / kranten / kunst / muziek / films / andere _____

Waar koopt u deze? (omcirkel)

*op de wekelijkse markt / op de markt in het centrum (medina) / in een winkelcentrum / op een ambachtsmarkt / andere:*_____

V. Participatie

Als u mee zou willen doen aan dit onderzoeksproject , dan kunt u uw telefoonnummer en/of uw emailadres hieronder vermelden (deze informatie verschijnt niet in de onderzoeksresultaten).

_____

Table of selected results

Respondents	92
Female	53
Male	39

European passports	
France	27
Belgium	11
Netherlands	41
None	13
T=	92

European languages	
French	35
Dutch	56
Flemish	1
T=	92

Moroccan Languages:	1st lng	2nd Lng
Moroccan Arabic	60	0
Tashelhit	4	4
Tarifit	20	7
Tamazight	8	9
T=	92	

Region visited same as at least one parent's home:	
Yes	34
No	56
Not enough information	2
T=	92

How often visiting	
>1x a year	15
Every year	52
Every 2 years	16
Every 3-5 years	8
T=	91

Moroccan language skills	Easy	~2	~3	~4	Hard
Understand Lng	42	14	18	11	5
Converse in Lng	37	17	17	8	11

Places visited	
Marrakech	45
Fes	48
Meknes	38
Casablanca	45
Rabat	41
Agadir	29
Essaouira	19
Tangier	59
Tetouan	42
Nador	28
Oujda	17
Ouarzazate	11
Sahara	7

Places wanted to visit (write-in)	
All	6
North	5
South	5
Tangier/ Tetouan	3
Oujda	3
Fes/Meknes/ Ifrane	4
Casablanca/ Rabat	8
Essaouira	3
Marrakech	17
Sahara	13
Agadir	14

Places consumed		%
Beach	77	83
Club	14	15
Café	62	67
Souk	63	68
Pool	58	63
Tourist sights*	30	42
Family homes*	46	64

*Question added in second version; N=72

Places Consumed with:		%
brothers and sisters	63	68
cousins	50	54
friends from Europe	42	46
friends from Morocco	25	27
family/parents	59	64

Appendix 3: Coding Keywords

Diaspora

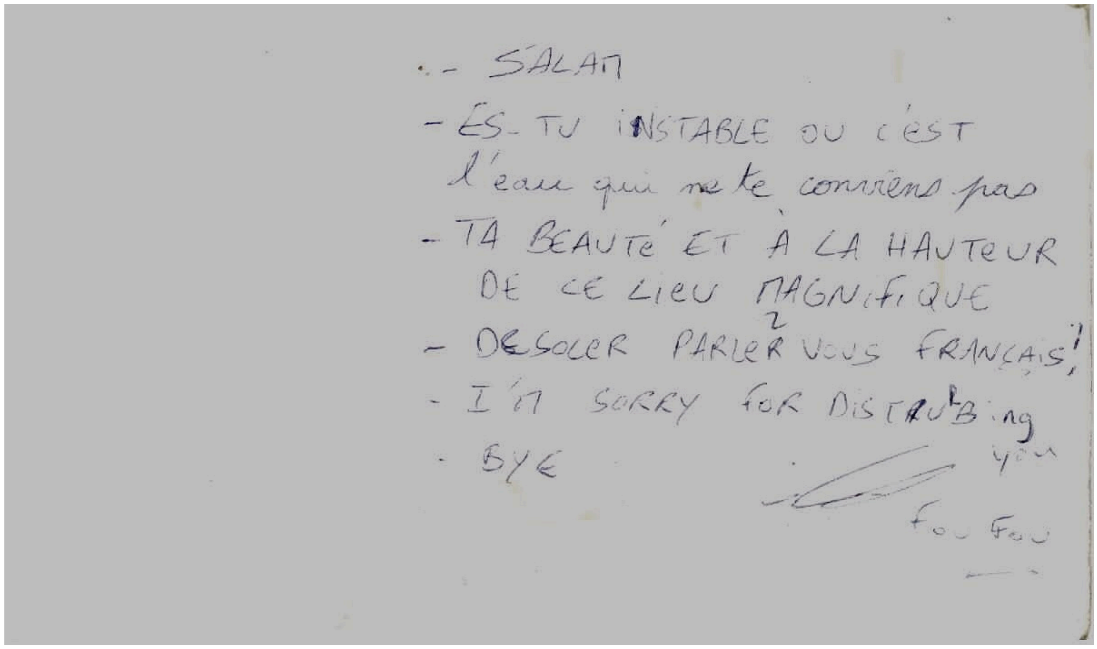
- adornment: clothes, embodiment, accessories; being recognized as something else
- attachment: feelings of connection, claims to connection, lack of connection
- derija: manipulation of language, recognizing language as a factor in identity, lack of language accommodation
- distrust: warnings about Moroccans from Morocco, 'they', interpretations as lying or misleading
- going: the trip: the act of leaving home for the voyage to Morocco, things that happen during the voyage
- legacy: generational things: parents doing differently, kids who meet friends, bringing children for holidays
- obligation: requirements from family and/or nation that are fulfilled and that aren't fulfilled (are resisted or ignored)
- reversals: unexpected things about being in Morocco or about Moroccans; rules that change between EU and MA; oppositions, i.e. being Moroccan and not-Moroccan
- value: attributing value to objects and/or places by willingness to spend, by estimation, by determination to negotiate

Tourism

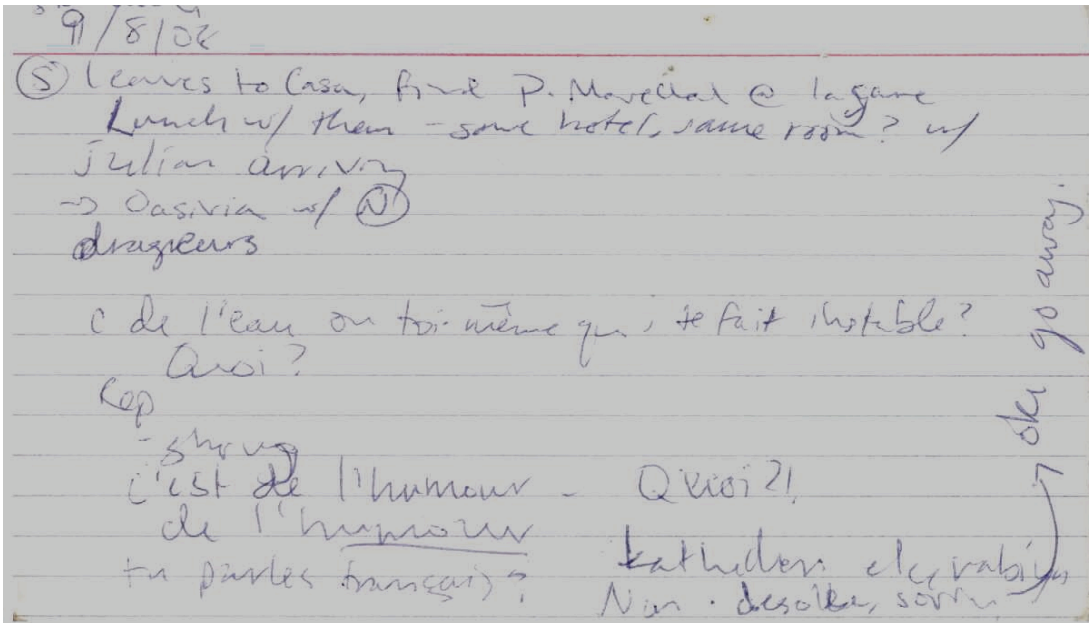
- boredom
- car: associations with cars and driving, like freedom of mobility or difference between having a car and not having one
- depaysement: feeling out of place, 'out of country' in a sense of exoticism or fascination
- sun: tanning and heat: being on the beach and complaining about distress of heat
- leisure: pursuing relaxation for the sake of relaxation; ideology of 'holiday' as opposed to 'obligation'
- touring: visiting elsewhere than the parental homes

Appendix 4: Oasiria notecard

Fred's version:



My version:



Appendix 5: Hind and Abdellatif

Fieldnote: Hind and Abdellatif's travels, 24 July 2008

I met them in Tangier, at the outset of their travel: originally, Hind, husband Abdellatif, their daughter, and her brother Karim, but K left at Tangier back to Hoceima (by coursa grand taxi 130 euro!) because he didn't like it THAT MUCH.
They had gone from deciding to go to Morocco on Monday to starting to drive on thursday, and meanwhile deciding to go see other places (i think more H's idea than A's)

They continued on: passed thru Asilah and Laarache, which they seem not too impressed, then to Rabat. Stayed there for 1 (?) night, in the Golden Tulip Farah because they couldn't find any other reasonably priced hotel, and spent a day looking at sights. they prefer to walk, so they walked the medina, whcih they found to be nice and safe, they walked the boulevard and to the chellah, also the mausoleum but it was closing. they couldn't see there to be anything else to do there, so they moved on to casablanca
there, they had great diffiuclty with the hotel - despite having reserved in advance on the internet, the Ibis didn't have their reservation and M wanted a room. They found her one. it was reasonably clean and well-priced (70 euro)

Casablanca however was not impressive, apart from the fact that such nice, clean neighborhoods were bordered with such destitution. their hotel was close to Casa Port, so they wandered into some sort of shopping near there, which they found to be reasonably priced and so bought a lot of presents and things, some moroccan merchandise, some other. they went to the Hassan II mosque, but there was some sort of fiasco: it was closed, but a lot of people wanted to go in and were standing around... someone opened a door and they all went in, then were all yelled out again by someone. H found it would be a really poor impression for a foreigner to have of Morocco.

they went on next to Marrakech, where again they had difficulty with the hotel. Ibis la gare H found too dirty, so they only stayed one night, then switched to a Blvd Mohamed VI hotel complex to which they had had a promotion from the boat over - 60e per adult a night, so 120e. the 'last' night in a hotel, also expensive.
first impressions of marrakech are from djemaa el fna (which H finds difficult to pronounce, learned it from guidebook) and the souk around it yesterday evening - expensive prices, possibly troublesome food. Went in the afternoon to Oasiria, which was clean. H says good, for her, and they had the afternoon discount.
they spent this morning in gueliz, in hotel limbo between Ibis and Mohamed VI, which is where I found them. we had coffees at Grand café de la poste, which they both admired inside, not minding apparently the EU prices for beverages, which they each had 2. We sat for nearly 2 hours, from when I found them around 11:45 until time to check in to new hotel at 2pm....
H says she has to take at least 2 showers a day here, it's so hot. They mey a group of dutch people on the way to meeting me, who had heard them speaking to each other, and who told them they didn't expect this level of heat.
met them later in the pm, around 6:30. we had said 5pm, give or take. but H got a call from her (other) brother that his car broke down outside barcelona,

which has inspired a lot of calling back and forth in order to get him to Morocco. He can't drive more than 100km/hr and he has to stop every hour to refill the water. slow progress.
They were late meeting me because the 1st taxi they found wanted 50dh for the ride from the hotel (which is normally not more than 15).
if he will make the Almeria-Nador boat, then they have to speed up to nador in order to pick him up. if not, they can take their time a bit more, maybe spend a night in fes.
800 some odd km to nador from marrakech. this is a lot of driving.